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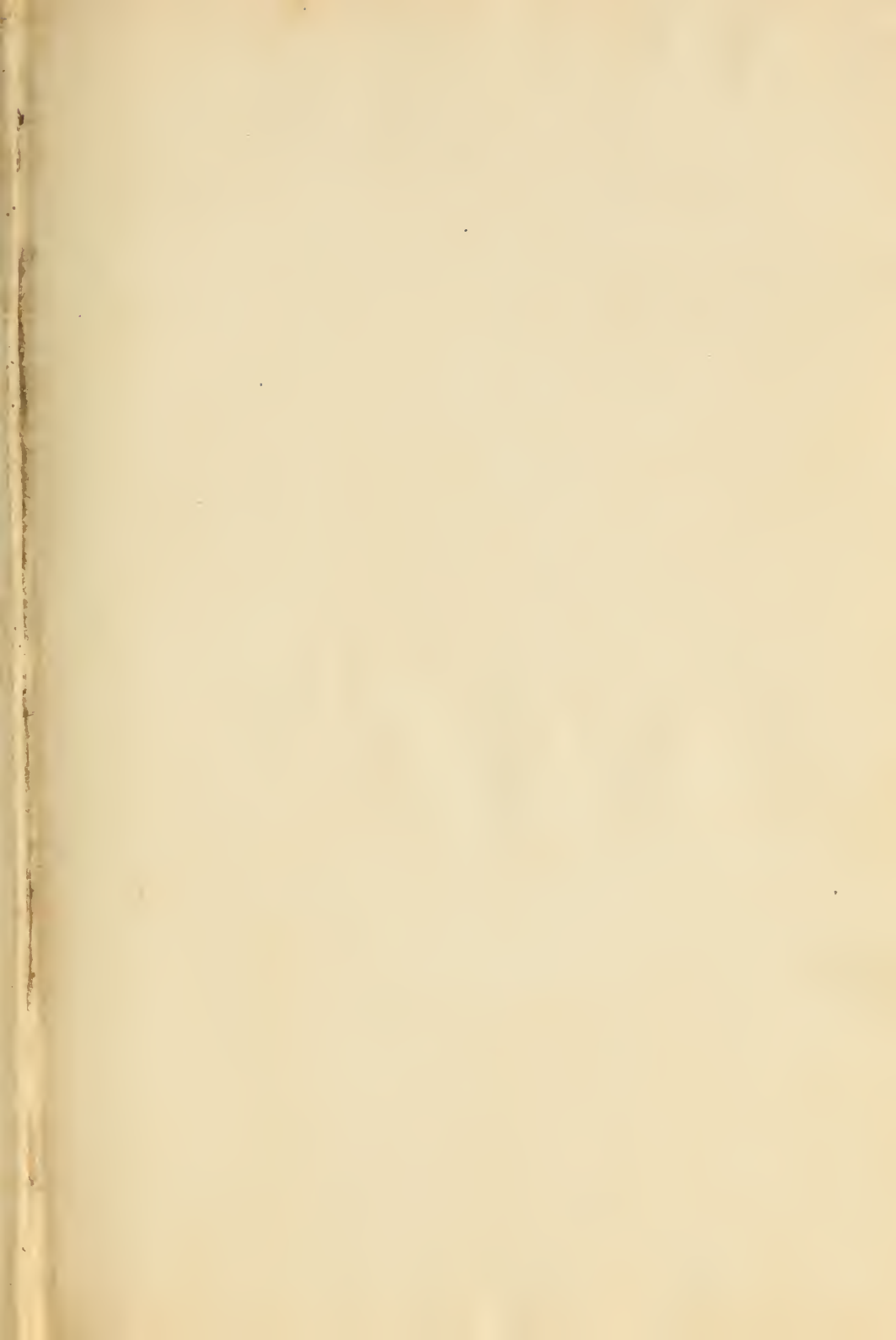
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.









Louis Napoleon.

ITALY

AND

THE WAR OF 1859.

WITH BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF
SOVEREIGNS, STATESMEN, AND MILITARY COMMANDERS;
DESCRIPTION AND STATISTICS OF THE COUNTRY;
CAUSES OF THE WAR, &c.

BY JULIE DE MARGUERITES,

AUTHOR OF "THE INS AND OUTS OF PARIS," "THE MATCH GIRL,"
"PARISIAN PICKINGS," ETC.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY DR. R. SHELTON MACKENZIE

WITH MAP AND PORTRAITS.

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TO MY FATHER,

A. B. GRANVILLE, M.D., F.R.S.,

THIS MEMORIAL

OF THE COUNTRY OF HIS BIRTH AND OF THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM,
THAT FREEDOM FOR WHICH IN EARLY DAYS HE SUFFERED,
AND WHICH IN MATURER YEARS HE AIDED BY
HIS INFLUENCE AND INTELLECT,

IS INSCRIBED BY HIS DAUGHTER,

JULIE DE MARGUERITES.

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 25, 1859.

INTRODUCTION.

BY DR. R. SHELTON MACKENZIE.

WITH a strong faith in the wisdom of old proverbs, I am confident that, as regards the volume which is here laid at the feet of the public, the adage, "Good wine needs no bush," might be quoted, to show that ITALY AND THE WAR OF 1859 needs no introduction. Yet I cannot restrain from expressing my opinion that such a book is desirable, and will be useful, if not necessary, at this crisis, when the fairest portion of Europe appears likely to regain her nationality, when Napoleon III. is heading French armies upon the battle-fields upon which his illustrious uncle achieved his first renown, and where Austria, so long the heartless and cruel oppressor of the Italians, has already sustained many defeats, and appears on the eve of expulsion from Lombardy and Venice.

MADAME DE MARGUERITES, the author of this book, well known on account of the ease, grace, and spirit of her

writings, and her intimate acquaintance — by residence — with the countries whose armies are now battling for or against Italian Independence, compliments me by a desire that, in consequence of my presumed familiarity with foreign lands and foreign politics, I should officiate as Master of the Ceremonies, and introduce her, in her new, and somewhat difficult position, as historian, politician, statistician, and biographer.

Her design was to describe Italy in general, as well as each distinct Sovereignty and State; to show the extent, resources, power, and political situation of each; to describe the leading members of each royal or reigning family; to point out the relative bearing of every State, each to each, and also each to Sardinia, France, and Austria, the combatants in the battle strife; to represent, with sufficient fullness and fairness, the military and financial condition, as well as the social and moral standing of each people; to describe cities and scenery in which she resided, or through which she had travelled; to state the causes, progress, and probable results of the War; and to give personal sketches, descriptions, and anecdotes of the leading personages — sovereigns, statesmen, and commanders — with many of whom, in other days and scenes far distant from this country, she had been more or less acquainted. Undoubtedly, this lady's opportunities of

acquiring the information necessary to produce such a book as this were neither few nor far between. Besides, having observed closely, and remembered well and much, she has read a great deal, and has “combined her information,” to use the words of the immortal Mr. Potts.

The result has been an agreeable volume, in which, while a great deal of solid information is given, to satisfy the minds of the more exact and exacting readers, will also be largely found personal sketches and anecdotes, recollections and *on dits*, which are always acceptable, and particularly in this country, where there is a prevailing curiosity — an heirloom from Eve, I presume — to learn everything about every body. Whoever expects ITALY AND THE WAR OF 1859 to be, from its subject, essentially a heavy book, will be greatly and pleasantly disappointed. It touches, lightly and gracefully, upon a variety of subjects, and enters searchingly and minutely enough into many more, all collateral to the principal theme of the work.

Although necessarily written with great rapidity, the following pages rarely exhibit traces of haste. Indeed, I can bear personal testimony to the industry as well as the ability with which the book was written, and the author’s scrupulous anxiety to be accurate upon all matters of fact.

The statistics of different States, here given, will be found full and accurate, and brought down from the latest published data.

To enhance the interest of the book, portraits of the principal Rulers now engaged in the War, have been introduced. Also, for the purpose of reference, a map, on which the course of the belligerents can readily be traced, and by which the boundaries, comparative extent, and bearings of each Italian State can readily be ascertained.

Neither Author nor Publisher have neglected anything which appeared likely to add to the value or interest of the work. At all events, whatever the issue, the honest and earnest endeavor has been to deserve success.

R. S. M.

Philadelphia, July 2, 1859.



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CHAPTER I.

FORMER POSITION OF ITALY—THE PAST AND PRESENT OF SARDINIA—ORIGIN OF THE HOUSE OF SAVOY—HUMBERT, THE FIRST COUNT—HISTORY OF ACQUISITIONS—PIEDMONT—ASSUMPTION OF THE TITLE OF KING OF JERUSALEM—ON WHAT BASED—EMANUEL FILIBERT—GENOA—REVOLT IN 1849—GENERAL DELLA MARMORA—THE ISLAND OF SARDINIA—GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES OF THE KINGDOM—AREA—POPULATION—LAKES—ANECDOTE OF NAPOLEON I.—RIVERS—CLIMATE—FERTILITY—REVENUE—ARMY—NAVY—INSTITUTION OF ROYALTY—WHEN AND HOW—THE SPANISH SUCCESSION—THE QUADRUPLÉ ALLIANCE.

ITALY, from a very early period, has occupied a large space in history. When the Phrygians, Tyrians, and Greeks—the ancient filibusters of the Eastern Seas—roamed at will, they were attracted to her shores by the salubrity of her climate, the beauty of her skies, the fertility of her soil, and the abundance of her wealth. But it was not alone whilst sea-kings ravaged her soil or despoiled her people that she attracted the attention of the world. Her own sons in turn became the invaders of other lands; called into existence the magnificent “mother of empires,” conquered the world, and brought home the *spolia opima* of nations to adorn her palaces and clothe her temples in gorgeous splendor.

Through the long line of warriors and Cæsars, the poison of extravagance and corruption was slowly enter-

ing the veins of the great Roman Empire, until it wrought exhaustion and decline. From its grave arose a new despotism—that of the Papal Hierarchy—under which, though the Arts have flourished, Freedom has not revived.

The mediæval times witnessed short intermittent resurrections of the old Roman spirit of endurance, of firmness, of fiery energy and generous aspirations. Venice, Genoa, Milan, Florence, and other sovereign municipalities, strove to eliminate the cultivation of liberalism. At one time even Rome itself, under the lead of Rienzi, seemed to see a return to the days of her pristine power. But these efforts seem to have been irregular and spasmodic, and now, as for a long time past, pontifical, kingly, or foreign rule, presses Italy with the worst and deadliest forms of personal oppression and political slavery:—to use the striking phraseology of another, “they have produced universal terror and desolation, and call it a return to peace and social order.”

One little kingdom in North-Western Italy alone forms an exception to this dominating despotism. That kingdom is Sardinia. Bound to Austria by many ties of kindred, and largely bordered by her territory, Sardinia has had the courage to forget the traditions of the past, ignore her family connexion with the House of Hapsburg, and embrace free constitutional government, with fervor and energy. Pursuing the last ten years a persistent and devoted course of devotion to liberal principles, she has been a living protest against the Austrian system of misrule, a fiery reproach to her outrages upon humanity, and beacon-light of hope to all the aspiring, generous hearts of the

Peninsula. By her bold course she has, in recent years, attained an unusually high position in European affairs. She has even been admitted to an equal voice and vote at the same continental council board with her haughty and hated rival, Austria. Within the last few months she has once more thrown down the gauntlet of defiance to this old and potent empire, and a second time entered the lists of combat with her. The stake is her existence as a Nationality: the prize if victorious—Italian redemption from the misrule of the Emperor Francis Joseph. Such a contest challenges the attention, and claims for her the sympathies, of the civilized world.

The past history of Sardinia is as curious and interesting as her present. The former receives its interest, however, from sources widely differing in temper and tone from the latter. Her early annals are marked by the energy and vigor of her chiefs. A long line of illustrious diplomats, second to none in their skillful use of all the Machiavelian subtleties which characterized the different international policies of the Middle Ages; stern strategetic warriors who have left names imperishable on the records of blood; and rulers ever anxious to steal territory from their neighbors, and thereby consolidate their power and aggrandize the House of Savoy.

To trace rapidly the origin of the Duchy of Savoy, the union consummated with Piedmont, the various other accessions of territory, and the consolidation of all these into the kingdom of Sardinia is necessary here.

The founder of the House of Savoy was Humbert of the White Hands. He lived about the beginning of the

Eleventh Century. He seems not to have been troubled with any nice scruples as to the rights of property. He had raised himself, as most men of those days did, by the strong hand, to a countship, marquisate, or some title of equivalent rank. Of his origin or descent little or nothing is known. The probability is that it was plebeian. Up to this time, Savoy had been governed by a number of bishops of the Church of Rome, each independent within his own diocese, and owing feudal allegiance to Conrad of Germany, surnamed the Salic. Whilst this Emperor was absent in Hungary, one of the Counts of Champagn, of a race notorious throughout centuries for turbulence and revolt, induced these pastoral lambs to rebel. Humbert of the White Hands fought the bishop of a mountain district of Savoy, called Maurienne, and conquered him. As a reward for this service, he received from the Teutonic Emperor the investiture of the county of Maurienne.

The fourth Count of Savoy married fortunately, and obtained thereby the Marquisate of Susa and Duchy of Turin. When the dynasty got possession of Chamberry they made it for awhile their capital. Turin did not become the residence of the ducal family until 1484.

Piedmont, one of the largest and finest provinces of the Sardinian Monarchy, lies South of Savoy. It descends from the tops of the lofty ranges known as the Cottian and Maritime Alps, and from the Appenines, in splendid terraces, to the fertile vallies which gently undulate until they are lost in the magnificent plains watered by the Po. It was slowly absorbed by Savoy, whose rulers were ever on the alert to "annex" territory from their neighbors.

This proclivity is certainly the best proof which could have been given of the truth of the theory of one who spent years in writing a huge folio to prove that the Princes of that family were of Saxon origin. Sometimes they lost what they had gained; and then, after years of patient vigilance, recovered their spoil. Divided, as Piedmont was, into small Duchies, Marquisates, Lordships and Republics, it easily fell a prey to a race of princes who were ever ready to buy, obtain territory by marriage, diplomacy or conquest.

A great addition of power was thus gradually imparted to this dynasty. It obtained a larger population from which to recruit its soldiery, more revenue to carry on its wars, more respect abroad and more regard at home. It raised its Dukes to the position of a first-class power in Italy. Even the greater magnates, such as the Emperor, the King of France, and the other Continental Powers, began to court their alliance about the beginning of the Sixteenth Century. Indeed, Emanuel Philibert, who won the battle of St. Quentin in August, 1557, defeating the Constable Montmorenci and a French army, had his friendship and influence sought after by the leading potentates of Europe. His splendid civil and military abilities made him the ablest Italian ruler of his day. So well did he cultivate and promote the interests of his people that historians agree in declaring him the first King of Sardinia, though that title was not nominally conferred until given to Victor Amadeus, nearly two centuries later.

Charles II. of Spain died November, 1700, and, to the surprise of every monarch in Europe save Louis XIV., he

left his dominions to the Duke of Anjou, second grandson of the French King. The death of a Bavarian prince, the destined heir of the crown of Spain, had preceded that of Charles II. France and Austria had then made a secret partition treaty, by which the Spanish crown was assigned to the Emperor's second son, Charles, Archduke of Austria. The King of Spain, made aware of this treaty, bequeathed his dominions, undivided, to the young Duke of Anjou, who was immediately proclaimed King, as Philip V. Thence arose what is known in history as "the War of the Spanish succession." Philip and his relative the Duke of Burgundy, then heir presumptive to the French crown, had married daughters of Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy. When the war broke out in 1701, Louis depended principally on the activity and skill of Victor Amadeus II. of Sardinia for the preservation of the Spanish dominions in Italy. In a moment of bitterness and passion he broke with the Duke of Savoy; the latter was thus forced into an alliance with the Imperialists. The war closed with the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. This important treaty, so often named in European history, was greatly to the advantage of the Duke of Savoy, for Philip V., in the event of his own line failing, acknowledged Victor Amadeus II. as heir to the crown of Spain. Sicily was given to Victor, with the title of King, and he was crowned here, on Christmas Eve, 1713. Other Italian princes obtained territory out of the Spanish possessions in Italy. The Duke of Savoy, also, gained Montferrat, and wrested possession of the passes of the Alps from France.

The restless intrigues of Cardinal Alberoni, the Prime Minister of Spain, caused a renewal of the war, in 1717. In the midst of profound peace, Philip V. surprised and conquered the Island of Sardinia. Sicily changed hands for a short time in 1718, but was reconquered next year, and was finally reunited to Naples. The quadruple alliance (consisting of England, France, Austria and Victor Amadeus) opposed and defeated Spain. Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, sensible of his inability to retain so distant a satrapy as Sicily, exchanged it for the Island of Sardinia in 1719, when the war of the Quadruple Alliance closed, and the political map of Italy was entirely recast. From this last acquisition, Victor Amadeus was formally recognized, from 1720, as King of Sardinia. Like many of his ancestors, he was so vain as to claim the empty title of King of Jerusalem and Cyprus, which empty title is still retained by his reigning descendant. This claim is based upon the marriage of Charles I., Duke of Savoy, in 1482 with Bianca of Montferrat, last descendant of Guy de Lusignan, so well known, in the history of the Crusades, as the last King of Jerusalem.

Genoa, surnamed "La Superba," from its magnificent location, from its proud palaces, from its crescent-shaped and beautiful bay, now forms an integral part of Sardinia. Her history of a thousand years is brilliant with the glory of enterprise and achievement. But for more than two centuries preceding its transfer to this monarchy, it had served as a plaything for royalty and a shuttlecock for rival princes. Its people were no longer the conquerors of the Moor, the terror of the Turk, the scourges of the

Mediterranean, and the rivals of Venice. Perhaps amid their degeneracy, it was well for them that they found repose in the bosom of a growing and powerful state. Since its last annexation to Sardinia, in December, 1814, the Genoese have evinced by feverish fits and starts some of their ancient pride in their country's glory, and have sought to reëstablish her independence. They lack the continuity of purpose and effort, necessary to achieve such a result. But it required the presence of a large army under Della Marmora to reduce the city to obedience in 1849, after the defeat of Charles Albert by the Austrians. Since that time Genoa has cheerfully submitted to Sardinian rule.

Piedmont and Savoy and Genoa with the Island of Sardinia, to which the royal family retired after the battle of Marengo, and where they remained until 1814, constitute all the great provinces of the kingdom of Sardinia. There are some minor districts, such as the County of Nice, which surrounds the little Lordship, or rather Princedom of Monaco, and the Duchy of Montferrat, once a constituent part of the Duchy of Milan.

The Continental portion of the Kingdom is surrounded by Switzerland on the North, Switzerland, Lombardy, Parma and Tuscany on the East; it has the Mediterranean on the South and France on the West. Its greatest width is two hundred and one miles, and its greatest length, two hundred and forty-five miles. For administrative purposes it is divided into eleven portions, and sub-divided into thirty provinces. The total area of the mainland provinces is 18,884 miles, and its population 4,537,580. The area of

the Island from which the Monarchy takes its name is 9,235, and its population 552,685. These estimates of population are taken from the census of 1852. It is probable that the population has increased about five per cent., if not more, upon the totality since that time, or within seven years.

The principal lakes touching the territory of the Continental States are Geneva and Lago Maggiore, though neither of them are properly denominated Sardinian. Of the beauty of either it is almost useless to speak. It has been celebrated in history, in song, and painting. *Apropos* of Lago Maggiore, it is said that Bonaparte and his staff dined on Isola Bella, the self-created Paradise of Prince Barromeo, the most lovely and enchanting of all the islands that seem to float upon its bosom, a few days before the battle of Marengo. This hero, impatient of forms and chafing with activity, rose between the courses, and wandering to a neighboring tree inscribed upon the bark "Victory." But one letter of this word remains, the capital "V." Will Napoleon III., be able to reinscribe the remainder?

The principal rivers are the Sesia, the Dora Baltea and the Lanaro. The Ticino is the outlet of Lago Maggiore, and until it disembogues itself into the Po, forms through its course the dividing line between Sardinia and Lombardy. All these rivers are shallow and can scarcely be called navigable.

The climate of these provinces varies from eternal frost and glaciers to perpetual summer and almost tropical luxuriance. Savoy is not so productive as Piedmont. The

latter province is perhaps the most fecundant in Italy. Its fertility has been vastly increased by the system of artificial irrigation which so largely prevails there. Upwards of 400,000 acres are subjected to this process of increasing their fertilization.

The revenue of Sardinia, according to the latest estimates, approximates \$30,000,000 per year. The expenditures exceed the receipts, because of the immense standing army which the King has been forced to keep up since 1848. From the period of his accession until now, nothing but an apparent friendship has subsisted between him and Austria. Deadly hatred, thinly masked under the guise of courtesy, has rankled in the hearts of himself and Court and pervaded all ranks of his people. Hence the army has really been always upon a war footing.

One authority estimates the army upon the peace establishment at 48,000 men; upon a war footing at 140,000. A more recent and apparently better-informed authority declares that the regular Sardinian army in the field did not exceed, upon the first of May of this year, 75,000. To this was to be added some 20,000 Volunteers or National Guards. The probable force of the Kingdom, all told, would, according to this estimate, be about 95,000 men.

The Navy of Sardinia consists of a number of small vessels, including a few steamers; mounting in all about one thousand guns.

With such an army and navy, and with only the extent of resources indicated, Sardinia would enter into a single-handed contest with Austria, without the shadow of a hope

of ultimate success. Victor Emanuel profited by the sad experience of his father and wisely declined to enter upon the combat, without the aid of a powerful ally, such as he has found in Louis Napoleon.

CHAPTER II.

VICTOR EMANUEL I.—ABDICATIONS—CARLO FELICE SUCCEEDS—CHARLES ALBERT—PRINCE OF CARIGNAN—EDUCATION OF CHARLES ALBERT—ASCENDS THE THRONE—LOMBARDY REVOLTS—CHARLES ALBERT AT MILAN—DEFEAT AT RIVOLI—SHAMEFUL RETREAT—TUSCAN VOLUNTEERS—MONTANELLI—NOVARA—TRAGIC SCENE—ABDICATION—RETIRES TO OPORTO AND DIES—VICTOR EMANUEL AND HIS FATHER—MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF VICTOR EMANUEL—HIS HABITS—DISLIKE TO THE CLERGY—ATTACHMENT TO THE DOGMAS OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH—HIS COURT—HIS QUEEN AND HER MOTHER—INTRIGUE OF THE LATTER WITH MARCHESE D'ADDA—DEATH OF THE QUEEN—HER CHILDREN—DEATH OF VICTOR EMANUEL'S BROTHER AND MOTHER—HIS PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

VICTOR EMANUEL II., the present King of Sardinia, was the son of Charles Albert. Victor Emanuel I., who abdicated in 1821 rather than accept the Constitution offered to him after the revolt in Turin in 1821, had four daughters, who were severally married to the King of Naples, the Duke of Lucca, the Duke of Tuscany, and the Duke of Modena. The heir of Victor Emanuel I. was his brother, Carlo Felice; but neither of these brothers having male heirs, Charles Albert, then Prince of Carignan, the representative of the younger branch of the House of Savoy, became heir presumptive of the crown. At the accession of Charles Albert to the throne in 1831, Victor Emanuel, his son, took the title of Duke of Savoy, that being the title conferred by custom and courtesy, on the eldest son

of the Kings of Sardinia. Charles Albert was educated at a Jesuit Seminary in Paris. The policy and education of the princes of Piedmont had remained ever the same, spite of circumstance and progress. The same narrow-minded and despotic principles which had influenced and destroyed the elder branch of the Bourbons had characterized their rule. Charles Albert, educated like his father, by priests—and Jesuits at that—had not imbibed the germs of modern enlightenment nor of liberal principles. For more than seventeen years the traditions of his family and the Jesuitical tenets of his education, swayed Charles Albert, making him a bitter enemy and persecutor of liberalism. Imprisonments, condemnations to exile and actual bloody executions mark the first years of his reign. It is difficult, in the sudden change which came over Charles Albert, and made him the champion and hope of Italian liberty, fully to decide whether he was inspired by fear or ambition. Certain it is, however, that in 1848, when all Europe was shaken by the great revolution of France, Charles Albert offered a liberal Constitution to his people. But, then, so did the King of Naples, the Dukes of Modena, Parma and Tuscany; and how have they maintained them? The Constitution of Charles Albert, though of no avail whilst the Austrians ruled in Italy, roused the hopes of the Lombards—ever ready to shake off the Austrian yoke, but never bold enough to attempt it without the support of some allied power. For years, ever since they had been returned to the Austrian rule, by the treaty of Vienna, the secret hopes of the Milanese had been fixed on France; but France, through the reigns of three Kings, Louis

XVIII., Charles X. and Louis Phillippe, had been too much engaged at home to think of sending an army over the Alps. Eagerly, therefore, they seized the hope held forth to them of an ally, separated from their capital by less than one hundred miles. Insurrections broke out at every point, and at length the Milanese, by an heroic effort, rising *en masse*, compelled thirty thousand Austrians under the command of Radetzky, to retreat and to take shelter in the fortified city of Verona. No sooner was it known that the revolution in Lombardy had been successful, than Charles Albert crossed the Ticino, and at the head of seventy thousand men marched to Milan in aid of the Milanese and liberty. Scarcely had he arrived at Milan before he appeared to have forgotten the cause of his advent, and neglecting the Austrians still in Verona, to have set about intriguing to establish the fusion of the States of Italy and to obtain for himself the supremacy of Northern Italy. Meantime he was neglecting the great object—that of preventing the troops sent from Austria to the succor of Radetzky, from reaching him at Verona. By Charles Albert's neglect, a body of Tuscan volunteers who had rushed to the aid of the Milanese at the first news of the revolt, were cut to pieces by the Austrians, between Mantua and Verona. Amongst these volunteers was Montanelli, a distinguished member of the University of Pisa, who, however, survived his wounds and is now known to the world as the translator of the tragedies of Racine and Corneille into Italian, now played by Madame Ristori. The King of Piedmont, however, still, with all his hesitations and blunders, maintained his hostile position towards

Austria, and having met with a defeat at Rivoli, he shut himself up in Milan, determined to defend it to the last. But whether he grew timid, or whether family ties which united him to the house of Austria began to assert their claims, or whether educational scruples overcame him, (for we must not forget that Charles Albert had been educated by the Jesuits,) or whether seeing he had no chance of the supreme sovereignty of Italy, he resolved to save his own kingdom, and so turned traitor, must remain in historical doubt. Certain it is, that whilst openly defying Austria he secretly negotiated with her, and though there were then fifty thousand men in the citadel of Milan, and that, too, when five months before the Milanese, without a single soldier, had conquered Radetzky and the Austrians, Charles Albert ignominiously evacuated the place, abandoned it to the Austrian general, and withdrew within the limits of his own territory. This conduct, whatever may have been its motive, lays Charles Albert open to the accusation of treachery. He felt it himself, he sunk under the blow, and in the midst of the execrations and contempt of his people he abdicated in favor of his son Victor Emanuel, the present king. The moment of his avowal of his purpose to abdicate forms one of those dramatic episodes that poetry so often seeks to invent for the great catastrophies of history. It took place on the battle field of Novara. Charles Albert felt at this battle more unfortunate than Francis I., who, at the battle of Pavia, declared that "all was lost but honor," — he had lost all and honor with it. During this disastrous day, rendered fatal by the mismanagement of Krzanowsky, as the day of Waterloo was by

the treachery or misconception of Grouchy, Charles Albert, in the thickest of the fight, evidently sought in an heroic death a shelter from the accusations of posterity, but though many fell around him, there was no ball nor sword for him. Being, then, still forced to endure life, towards nightfall, when the Piedmontese were obliged to retreat, resting on General Durando's arm, surrounded by his staff, and in the presence of his son, he exclaimed, "My resolution is taken—from this hour I am no longer King. Your King is now Victor Emanuel." After the necessary formalities at Turin in confirmation of his resolution, the king, bent with premature age, sorrow, despair, perhaps remorse, retired to Oporto, where he died of what is called a broken heart, his mind having preyed on his constitution and brought on early death.

Victor Emanuel has been accused of coldness towards his father. Many have gone further and taxed him with treachery at the battle of Novara, in order to force affairs into the train they ultimately took. Nothing, however, justifies such suspicions. The Savoyards are renowned for simplicity, honesty and truth. The Piedmontese bear in Italy a high reputation for dissimulation and wiliness. Yet Victor Emanuel, whilst he affects to speak Piedmontese exclusively, appears to deserve, in every way, the soubriquet conferred on him of *il re galantuomo*, "the King of his word,"—a contrast with the name bestowed on his father, who was nicknamed "Tentenna," (King See-Saw.)

His tastes all indicate an open, manly spirit. Although educated by priests, Victor Emanuel has no pretensions to

learning nor scholarship. He prefers the "tented field" to the cabinet, field sports to literature or the arts. He is not a superstitious or bigoted monarch. Contrary to the laws established in Italy, he tolerates the free exercise of the Vandois Protestant religion and the establishment of Protestant Temples, even in his Capital. He is a Catholic, believing steadfastly in the dogmas, but having no faith in the Church and Priesthood. All his actions tend to diminish clerical revenue and clerical power. Still, there is neither in the king nor the people any disposition to swerve from the Roman Catholic faith; the aim of both is merely to attack and destroy the temporal power. Even with the liberty of the Press accorded by Victor Emanuel, all attacks upon the dogma, all Voltairienne attempts at skepticism or ridicule, in matters of religious faith, would be deemed sacrilege and not tolerated. The great problem to be solved, which will come after the political freedom of Italy shall be obtained, will be how to conciliate it with the overbearing despotism and temporal power of the Church of Rome. Victor Emanuel, as a King, has all the elements of popularity and is beyond all doubt exceedingly beloved by his people. His very want of courtly refinement, his dislike of the trammels of etiquette, his undeniable bravery, all tend to make him the hero of the people. He is fond of going about under various disguises, alone in the streets and taverns of Turin and studiously affects always to speak the Piedmontese dialect, giving an Italian rather than a French atmosphere to his court, though in his parliament the Deputies from Savoy and Nice, discourse in the French language.

Victor Emanuel married in 1842, Maria Adelaide, daughter of the Arch-Duke Regnier, then Viceroy of Italy. This Princess was a rare example of excellence, intelligence, high principle, and amiability. Brought up at Milan, in the seclusion of her father's court, under the auspices of her mother, a Princess Carignan and a woman of cultivated mind and generous instincts, she may be said to have been utterly unfit for royalty, which condemned her to circumscribed inactivity. Her mother, a woman of sorrows, which were no mystery to the Milanese, and which without tarnishing her reputation, had involved one of the noblest patrician families in disgrace and suffering, rarely passed the palace gate.

Amongst the Italian nobles who had accepted office at the vice-regal court, was the Marchese D'Adda, appointed chamberlain to the Vice-Queen. The Grand Duke of Austria, Regnier, Viceroy of Italy, though a man of excellent instincts, and possessed of a kind heart and some talent, was neither amiable, attractive, or agreeable.

The Princess Carignan, his wife, was an accomplished, young and handsome woman, but withal a woman of high principle. It was said, that she confessed her passion for the Marchese D'Adda to her husband, and that in consequence of this confession, which should have inspired none but generous feelings, the Marchese was arrested and secretly imprisoned. As for the Vice-Queen, she retired utterly from all courtly ceremonies, neither appeared at fêtes nor theatres; dedicating herself to her children and to religious observances. Years passed on. The Arch-Duchess was in the last stage of consumption, when all at

once, the Marchese D'Adda re-appeared at Milan. He had been liberated as he had been arrested, without any apparent cause, and summoned to Vienna, and courteously requested by the Emperor to consider that this episode of his life had not occurred. The Marchese, restored to his family (for he was a married man,) never returned to the Court, and retired judiciously, until after the death of the Arch-Duchess, to Piedmont. This was the Austrian way of settling a love *affairé*.

On her two daughters the Arch-Duchess centered her affections and hopes. Maria Adelaide, the wife of Victor Emanuel, was perhaps over refined and sensitive; and in the earlier days of her marriage suffered from the absence in her husband of those qualities of which she had the excess. Still she obtained a great but gentle influence over him. He loved her with truth and devotion. She was the mother of five children: Clothilde, now in her seventeenth year and lately married to Prince Napoleon, the son of Jerome Bonaparte, and, at the beginning of the war, the Commander of the Fifth French Corps de Armée in Italy and heir presumptive to the throne of France, should there be a failure of direct male issue,—and of four younger ones. Her second child is Humbert, called after the founder of the dynasty. He is now fifteen years of age, and although so youthful, has accompanied his father to the seat of war.

The death of Maria Adelaide much affected the King. He is said to have vowed to remain faithful to her memory, and will therefore, enter into no second marriage. Almost at the same time, the mother and brother of the King, Fer-

dinand, the Duke of Genoa, also died. Overwhelmed by all these domestic calamities, he remained in seclusion for several months, apparently losing all interest in the affairs of state. He was however too robust in health, and too vigorous of constitution, not to rally again. Much as he seems to enjoy the activity which his present life presents to him, his most intimate friends aver that he plunges into scenes where the display of the greatest energy is required, in order to escape from himself.

Victor Emanuel is now in his thirty-sixth year, with a fine soldierly-looking presence, rotund and fair-haired. The Teutonic characteristics of his dynastic descent are developed rather than those of the Italian race.

The King of Sardinia has created the Prince Eugene de Savoie, Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom. Eugene de Savoie is a distant cousin of Victor Emanuel, being a prince of the younger branch of Savoy-Carignan, and was entitled by Charles Albert, by royal decree in 1834. He is besides, Commander in Chief of the Sardinian National Guards. He was born in 1816 and is unmarried.

CHAPTER III.

LOMBARDY—EARLY INVASIONS—RIVALRY BETWEEN FRANCE AND AUSTRIA CONCERNING ITS POSSESSION—TITLE TO IT DISCUSSED—ROYAL MARRIAGES OF THE BOURBONS AND HAPSBURGS—EFFECT OF ALLIANCES WITH AUSTRIA UPON FRANCE—AUSTRIAN TREACHERY TO NAPOLEON—TREATY OF UTRECHT AND OTHERS—TREATY OF 1815—ANECDOTE OF SIR ROBERT WILSON AND FRANCIS I. CONCERNING LOMBARDY—POLICY OF HIS SUCCESSORS CONCERNING IT—GEOGRAPHY OF LOMBARDY—ITS PROVINCES—NUMBER OF SQUARE MILES—POPULATION—CHIEF CITY, MILAN—ITS RIVERS, LAKES, SYSTEM OF IRRIGATION—RAIL ROADS—PRODUCTIVE POWERS—GENERAL DESCRIPTION THEREOF—MANUFACTURES—AUSTRIAN ARMY DURING PEACE—REVENUE AND TAXATION.

THE fair and fertile district of country known as Lombardy, has, for more than twenty centuries, been coveted by those living West and North of the Alps. Its rare fertility, genial climate and beautiful scenery, made it appear like an earthly paradise, a perfect garden of Hesperides, to the rough, uncouth Gauls and long haired Teutons who were wont to issue, in great shoals, from the dense, dark forests of Northern and Western Europe. From the time that the capitol alone, in all Rome, remained unconquered, and Camillus rebuked Brennus for his insolence, and overthrew his forces, until Marius slaughtered holocausts of Cimbri; from its conquest by the Longobards until their power was destroyed by Pepin *le Bref*; from the invasion of Otho the Great down to the days of the First Napoleon, it has, century after century,

been a fief, in one form or the other, of the crowns of Germany or France. Each have alternately won and lost it. For brief periods it has been in the hands of native rulers and of the Spaniard; but the law of its existence seems to have been a gravitation between those two powerful monarchies.

If repeated conquest and occupation can alone confer title, then both are possessed of admirable and indisputable claims. Austria, however, as lineal successor to the rights of the Germanic empire, would seem to have the better title; confirmed, as that title was, upon the reconstruction of the map of Europe, at Vienna, in 1815. That treaty, however, was forced upon France by the sword. May it not be the ultimate design of the present Emperor of the French to revive the claims of the First Empire to these Provinces?

The modern rivalry of France and Austria was deeply intensified from the time when Charles VIII. of France and Maximilian, son of Frederick III., Emperor of Germany, became rival candidates for the hand of Mary of Burgundy. Philip the First, of Castile, was the offspring of the Austro-Burgundian alliance. He was the father, by the mad Joanna of Castile, of Charles V. of Germany. The latter was the rival of Francis I. of France, for the Imperial crown. The consequence of his success over the French monarch was that series of long and bloody wars with which these competitors desolated Italy, and caused her rivers to run red with gore.

Three times has the Austrian royal family given queens to France — Anne of Austria, wife of Louis XIII., Marie

Antoinette of Louis XVI., and Maria Louisa of the Great Napoleon. But in neither case has such an alliance sufficed to allay the national hatred of the French to the House of Hapsburg, and in each case has such a union been most unpropitious, either for the royal partners or for the French nation. There has been no cordial alliance between them for more than a century, save that which they formed against the great Frederick of Prussia, and that was full of reverses and disasters to France. Five times did Austria, either in coalition or single-handed, attempt to overthrow the French Revolution and its first-born, the Empire. She deserted Napoleon, in the face of Europe, in 1813, and thus incurred, most deeply, the hatred of his family. Besides, as if to crown the disgrace of that family, allied to her by marriage, Austria assented to, if she did not propose to the Congress of Vienna, that celebrated treaty enactment by which the family of Bonaparte *were* to be forever excluded from the throne of *La belle France*. The portion of the conduct of Austria which most galls and wounds the memory of Frenchmen is, that she furnished 30,000 of that army of occupation which held France in subjection for three years after the defeat of Waterloo.

Lombardy, or at least that portion of it, known as the Milanese and Mantua, was retroceded to Germany by the Bourbons of Spain, at Utrecht, in 1713. Her title to this territory was confirmed by the general pacification of 1735, and again by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. It continued to be held by her until wrested from her by the victorious army of Napoleon the First. As before

remarked, it returned to her when the repartition of the Italian provinces took place, in 1815.

A singular anecdote is told about this return of Lombardy to Austria. Francis I., who first resigned the title of Emperor of Germany in 1802, and took that of Emperor of Austria, remarked to Sir Robert Wilson, British Commissioner at Vienna, that "he would not have an inch of Italian territory." This able and experienced monarch felt that the possession of Lombardy by Austria had been a drain upon the treasure and blood of his empire. There is no doubt that he was sincere in the utterance of this opinion. But the Congress forced it upon him, contrary to his will. Whatever may have been his ideas relative to this province, his successors have not sympathized with them, for they have shaped their policy toward universal dominion within the limits of the Peninsula, with perhaps the single exception of the States of the Church.

Lombardy is bounded on the North by the Tyrol and Switzerland, East by the Venetian Provinces of Austria, South by Modena, Parma and the Sardinian States, and on the West by Sardinia and Lago Maggiore. The Ticino divides it from the last-named State on the West, whilst the Po divides it from the Kingdom of Victor Emanuel and from the Duchy of Parma on the South. It embraces the Provinces of Sardinia, Pavia, Mantua, Milan, Lodi-e-Crema, Cremona, Como, Brescia and Bergamo. These contain an area of 8,313 square miles, and a population of 2,725,740. These figures are taken from the most recent census. The chief city of Lombardy, in point of import-

ance and population, is Milan. There the Austrian Viceroy resides and holds his semi-regal Court. The population of Milan was estimated differently by two authorities in 1846; one placing it as high as 189,380; another as low as 161,966. In this latter number was said to be included no less than 17,000 strangers.

The rivers Mincio, Oglio, Adda, Lambro and Ticino, drain the Southern and Western portions of this Department of Lombardy and they all discharge themselves into the Po. Out of the East and North the Tagliamento, Brenta, Piave, Adige and Bacchiglione, flow into the Adriatic.

Nearly all the large Lakes of Northern Italy are either wholly within its territories or touch its borders. The former class includes Gard, Iseo, Idro and Como, so immortalized in prose and verse; the latter, Lugano and Maggiore.

The same system of irrigation which prevails in Piedmont prevails here. The length of the great canals used for this purpose, as well as for navigation, together with their principal lateral branches is estimated at nearly if not quite five thousand miles.

Railroads have, to some extent, been introduced into both Lombardy and Sardinia; one of these "*Chemins de fer*" already stretches itself from Milan to Como, another is completed part of the way from Mantua to Verona, a large city in the Venetian Department.

The Provinces of this Department, have ever been celebrated for their productive powers. During the forty years of languid peace which followed the conclusion of

the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, they recovered most wonderfully from the desolation of nearly two centuries; so that when the French lances gleamed in the Alpine passes, upon their first invasion of Italy, after the Revolution of 1789 broke out, they looked down upon a country of marvellous beauty and richness. It has enjoyed peace since 1815, broken only by the short revolutionary episode of 1848. The whole surface of the country waves with fields of Indian maize, wheat, rice, the vine, flax and hemp. Everywhere, the Lombardy poplar, mulberry and peach tree abound. The roads are magnificent and are shaded on each side with rows of beautiful trees.

The manufactures are varied and large. The richest manufacture is that of silk; Europe to a vast extent is supplied by the Lombards with this article. The other chief exports are corn and cheese.

The number of troops which have been kept in this country since the year 1848 by the Austrians, previous to the breaking out of the present war, has been variously estimated by various persons. Some have placed the number as low as 60,000, and others as high as 80,000. There seems to be no accurate mode of determining this question, unless access could be had to the military rolls of Count Gyulai, or the archives of the Military *Chancellerie*, at Vienna.

The amount of revenue which Austria has drawn from Lombardy, for many years back, is very great. The rate of taxation is appalling. A writer who has investigated the subject fully, declares that "the Austrian Treasury draws from Lombardy eighty millions of *lire* annually. If

the whole empire were taxed per head at the Lombard rate, it would exceed a revenue of eleven hundred millions of *lire*. Instead of this, it had (in the year 1854) seven hundred thirty-six millions. If we look only to the direct tax upon lands, then, at the Lombard rate, the empire would have yielded four hundred millions, whereas in 1854 it yielded two hundred and three millions."

"But it may be thought that the wealth of Lombardy redresses the balance. Well, in 1850, the agricultural products of that country, were stated at three hundred and sixty millions of *lire*: those of the whole empire, at three thousand, nine hundred and eighty-five millions. But Lombardy pays some thirty millions of land tax, out of two hundred and three millions, or more than a seventh, instead of about a thirteenth. If the real value of the Lombard crops be given, it raises from three hundred and sixty to four hundred and fifty millions; but a similar rectification might, we apprehend, be applied to the rest of the empire."

These statements are based upon publications made and sold in the Lombardo-Venetian States. They exhibit a more wonderful disproportion between the amount of taxes levied upon this department and the balance of the empire, than any one not fully acquainted with the subject would have believed. It is no wonder that the Lombards are impatient of the Austrian yoke, and long for a deliverer.

Very little, however, of this great revenue, ever finds its way into the imperial treasury at Vienna. The immense military and civil establishments which Austria is bound to support, in order to keep the Italians in subjection to her rule, almost wholly exhausts it.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROYAL FAMILY OF AUSTRIA—FRANCIS JOSEPH, PRESENT EMPEROR—
HIS ANCESTRY—HIS WIFE ELIZABETH—ABDICATION OF HIS UNCLE—
REFUSAL OF HIS FATHER TO ACCEPT—THE ARCHDUCHESS SOPHIA—HIS
UNCLE FERDINAND—VIENNA AND THE REVOLUTION—INTELLECTUAL
CAPACITY OF SOPHIA—ANECDOTE OF FRANZ JOSEF RELATIVE TO THE
ACCESSION—COUNT SCHWARZENBERG—COUNT BUOL—PERSONAL AP-
PEARANCE OF THE EMPEROR—RAAB—GENERAL SCHLICK—ORDER OF
ST. GEORGE—ARCHDUKE MAXIMILIAN—HIS WIFE—EUGENE BEAUHAR-
NAIS—HIS NOBLE REFUSAL—COUNT GYULAI—HIS PAST HISTORY—
ANECDOTE OF RADETZKY—THE ARCHDUKES STEPHEN AND JOHN—DE-
SCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF THE IRON CROWN—ANECDOTE CONCERNING
IT DURING THE PRESENT WAR.

THE present Emperor of Austria, Franz Josef, was born on the 18th of August, 1830. His father was the Archduke Charles, son of the Emperor Francis I., who had four wives: the Archduke Charles being the son of his second marriage with Marie Therese, daughter of the King of the two Sicilies. In 1848 his brother, Ferdinand I., having abdicated, he, the Archduke Charles, became heir to the throne, but refusing to accept it, he made over his rights to his son, the present Emperor, Franz Josef, who on the 2d of December, 1848, was proclaimed Emperor of Austria. His mother is Sophie, (born in 1805,) daughter of Maximilian, King of Bavaria, twin sister to the Dowager Queen of Saxony, as well as sister of Louis of Bavaria, renowned for his love of Art, who abdicated the



Francis Joseph.

throne in March, 1848, in consequence of the discontent occasioned by the exercise of power he had allowed to the notorious Lola Montez. Franz Josef was married in 1854 to Elizabeth, daughter of the Duke of Bavaria, (a younger branch of the house of Bavaria, called Bavaria Birkenfeld,) who was born in 1837.

The end of the long reign of Francis found the Austrian people, who had become enlightened, weary with the old narrow-minded policy of the former Emperors. They had, however, a personal love for Francis, which had maintained them in their allegiance. The weakness, almost amounting to imbecility of Ferdinand, and the continuation of the same restrictive measures, gave the discontented an excuse for revolt. Vienna fell into the power of the people, headed by the students, and though Jellachich and Windischgrätz restored it to the Imperial power, some concessions were unavoidable, and a change of Sovereigns was imperative. Ferdinand and his wife, the Empress Marianne, (daughter of Victor Emanuel I. of Sardinia,) pious, good, inoffensive people, with very little intellect and without the slightest conception of the importance of their position, still believing implicitly in divine right, were easily persuaded to renounce the throne. The next heir was the Archduke Charles, a man to whom the education and custody of the Duke de Riechstadt had been most especially confided. The Archduke Charles was not a man of brilliant talent, but of sound common sense, and totally without ambition. His wife, the Archduchess Sophie, however, possessed a capacity for intrigue, a shrewd intellect and an undaunted spirit. She was much in advance

of the *arriere* policy of the House of Hapsburg, and had tact enough to understand that the branch on which Austria's new destinies were to bloom forth, must be the greenest and freshest possible. She, therefore, preferred being the mother rather than the wife of the Emperor, and advising her husband to follow his brother's example, the Imperial Crown devolved on her eldest son, Franz Josef, then in his nineteenth year. Accordingly the Archduchess, seeking her son, fell at his feet and was the first to salute him as "*Mein Kaiser*," "My Emperor." The boy, staggering under the glorious weight thus thrust upon him, is said to have hidden his face on his mother's shoulder, whilst in a voice of deep emotion he exclaimed, "*Meine jugen ist hein*," "My youth is over."

On his accession, Franz Josef promised a free and constitutional government to his people; and by the advice of Prince Schwarzenberg, he attacked and subdued the power of the aristocracy, making himself the head of the cabinet, and by this means propitiated the mass of the population. With the aid of new men, such as Bach and Von Bruck, he carried on a series of fiscal and commercial reforms. These reforms, however, applied only to Austria proper; the conquered territories, including Italy of course, shared none of their ameliorations. Schwarzenberg having died suddenly in 1852, his place was supplied by Count Buol, who shared the counsels and possessed the confidence of the young Emperor for some years, until after the declaration of the present war, when he resigned.

Franz Josef is in person tall, slight, dignified and graceful in his movements. The expression of his countenance

is reflective, serious, almost sad, like one impressed with the responsibility of his position. He has proved that he possesses great personal bravery: at the taking of Raab, where the Emperor commanded in person, he was ever found in the thickest of the fight; after the outer works were passed it was found that the passage to the inner works was impracticable, the bridges having been burned. Schlick, who was the General in command, left the Emperor, to order the reconstruction of one of the bridges. Scarcely, however, had Schlick left him, before, followed by Count Grune, Count Gyulai and Prince Felix Schwarzenburg, Franz Josef, without troops to protect him, dashed across and entered the town. For this feat of personal courage Franz Josef received from the Emperor of Russia the order of St. George, which is almost the only order he ever wears. The stain upon the Emperor's character is a spirit of cruelty, which allowed him to sanction the barbarities of Haynau and Radetzky, as well as those executions, imprisonments and flaggelations of women, which he himself commanded in Hungary.

The Provinces of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom are governed by a Viceroy, supposed to possess despotic power, but who really takes all his orders from Vienna. This Viceroy was, at the time of the breaking out of the war, the brother of the Emperor of Austria, the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, born in 1832. He married, in June, 1857, the Princess Charlotte, daughter of Leopold, King of Belgium, and of Louise, eldest daughter of Louis Philippe. The Princess Charlotte, named after her father's first wife, the Princess Charlotte of England, whom he has never

ceased to venerate, is a most accomplished and liberal-minded Princess, and is said to have conciliated, during her brief reign, many of the noble Milanese families who had hitherto kept aloof from the Austrian Court. But Austria has never condescended to conciliate where she can command. During the reign of Napoleon, the Viceroy of Italy was Eugene Beauharnais. He was much beloved by the Milanese, and at the fall of Napoleon, when the Italians, exhausted by taxes and drained by contributions of men and money to the wars of the Emperor, revolted against him, Eugene was offered the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Lombardy, including Venice, Parma, and a portion of Piedmont. But the chivalrous Prince Eugene, faithful to his oath of fidelity to the Emperor, peremptorily refused, and shared the fate of the Bonaparte family, sinking into comparative insignificance as Duke de Leuchtenburg.

Foremost amongst the important personages now concerned in the command is the name of General Gyulai, a Hungarian, but firmly devoted to the House of Austria. He is, as a soldier, the pupil of Radetzky, a strict disciplinarian, unrelenting and cruel. In 1848, when the revolt of Milan was threatening, Gyulai was Radetzky's aid-de-camp, and second in command. Meeting the old Marshal one day in the streets alone, Gyulai remonstrated with him concerning the imprudence of going about without escort.

"I am perfectly safe," said the Marshal, "as long as you are alive."

"How does that protect you?"

“Because the Milanese know that if they kill me, you will succeed me, and they dread your severity more than mine.”

Count Francis Gyulai is the son of a Field Marshal in the service of Austria who died in 1831, and who was a Magyar of Transylvania, elevated to the rank of Count of the Empire in 1804. The present Count Gyulai was born in 1799. He was Minister of War in 1849 and Commander of the Adriatic coast, where he displayed his genius in the fortifications of Trieste and other maritime cities. In 1856 he was sent on a special mission to St. Petersburg, relative to the Eastern question.

The two most remarkable Princes of the House of Austria besides those mentioned, are the Archdukes Stephen and John, the great-uncles of the present Emperor, brothers of the Emperor Francis I. Stephen was Governor of Hungary at the time of the Revolution of 1848, and John is Governor of Styria, and has contracted a Morganatic marriage with a peasant woman, whom the courtesy of the young Emperor has created Countess de Meran. John was the first who announced the resignation of Metternich to the people of Vienna; he was Regent of Germany in 1848, and is altogether the most liberal of the Austrian Princes.

The Emperors of Austria take the title of King of Lombardy, and for their coronations still make use of the celebrated iron crown. This crown, which is a richly chased golden circle enriched with gems, is, however, said to be lined on the inside with iron battered out of one of the nails of the holy cross. This crown had encircled the

heads of all the sovereigns of Lombardy, whether by conquest or descent, from Charlemagne down to Napoleon I. A superstitious importance is attached to it, and at the first news of the landing of the French at Genoa, the crown was taken from the palace of Monza, where it is kept, and sent by the Austrian Government, under strong escort, to Mantua, one of the most impregnable fortresses in Italy. It cost Napoleon nine months to get possession of it.

Besides all the members above mentioned of the Austrian family proper, the Princes of the House of Austria reign over several other states of Italy, such as Parma, Modena, Lucca and Tuscany.

CHAPTER V.

VENICE — ORIGIN OF VENICE — FIRST DOGE — HENRI DANDOLO — GRADENIGO — CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT — HEREDITARY ARISTOCRACY — ACQUISITION OF BRESCIA, BEGAMO, PADUA — THE LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY — QUEEN OF THE ADRIATIC — A SPANISH BRIDE AND VENETIAN ADMIRAL — THE TURKS — DEFEAT OF THE OTTOMANS — MOROSINI — LOSS OF CANDIA — TAKES THE MOREA — DECLINE OF THE REPUBLIC — DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE — PEACE OF PASSAROVITZ — NEUTRALITY OF VENICE — SUBMITS TO THE FRENCH — RESTORED TO AUSTRIA BY THE TREATY OF VIENNA — REMINISCENCES OF VENICE — ROME AND VENICE — PIAZZA DI ST. MARCO — BODY OF ST. MARK — CURIOUS MODE OF TRANSPORTING IT FROM ALEXANDRIA — PATRON SAINT OF VENICE — WHAT BECAME OF IT — DISTURBANCES OF 1848 — DANIELE MANINI — NICOLO TOMMASEO — THE ITALIAN LEGIONS DEFEAT AUSTRIA — VIVA VENEZIA — VIVA ITALIA — VENICE DECLARES HER FREEDOM — MANINI DICTATOR — PEACE — DESIRE FOR WAR — SIX VOLUNTEERS — SURRENDER TO AUSTRIA — DEATH OF MANINI — HIS SON — GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES OF VENICE — POPULATION — TERRITORY — TAXATION — VENICE AND ITS COMMERCE.

THERE is a magic in the name of Venice which evokes an ideal world, looking new, strange and magnificent,—beautiful, yet differing in its beauties from all else that is beautiful in the loveliest countries of beautiful Italy. *Venezia la bella*, as she is called,—Venezia, once the greatest republic in the world,—Venezia, in whose ports the flags of every nation have streamed,—Venezia, who conquered the overbearing Turk,—Venezia, who monopolized the commerce of the world,—owes its origin to the persecution of the devastator Alaric. Flying from the sword and flames that

enveloped their cities in 421, the inhabitants of Padua, Aquileia, and other smaller Roman Colonies along the coast of the Adriatic, fled to the marshes situated at the extremity of the Adriatic Gulf, and driving piles into the unstable soil, so laid the foundation of Venice. At first the colony was governed by Tribunes, but its increase of importance, its extent and its prosperity, at length obliged the people to concentrate the authority. They accordingly, in 697, elected Paulas Lucius Anafesto to the office of Doge. The government did not, however, cease to be democratic, but instead of three Presidents it had one. It increased rapidly in strength, importance and wealth, during six centuries, when in 1204, under Henri Dandolo, the forty-first Doge, it astonished the world by one of the greatest achievements of a century which was essentially an age of military glory. The Doge Dandolo, being then in his ninety-fourth year and entirely deprived of sight, with a fleet of five hundred sail and forty thousand men, which he commanded in person, laid siege to Constantinople and planted the standard of the Republic on its towers. Refusing the Imperial Crown of the Eastern Empire, the noble old warrior laid all his conquests at the feet of the people of Venice. The Morea and Candia were added also to Venice.

In 1297, under Gradenigo, the forty-ninth Doge, a great change took place in the government of Venice. From an elective democracy it became an hereditary aristocracy; a government which at first nobly sustained itself by opposing victoriously the potentates of Europe and the Ottoman forces which threatened the possessions of the Republic in the East.

From 1338 to 1508 the principal Italian cities comprised between Lombardy and the Adriatic recognised the Venetian power. Bergamo, Brescia, Padua, Vicenza and many lesser States, all formed a portion of the territory of the Venetian Republic.

In 1508, Pope Julius II., having imprisoned Cæsar Borgia, extorted from the Venetians all his possessions and estates, taking at the same time violent possession of the Venetian territory in Romagna. Not content with this, the Pope, jealous of the power of Venice, entered into a league against her with Spain, France, Germany and the petty princes of Italy. This league is known in history as the League of Cambray, from the place in which it was signed. Still chivalrous, powerful and courageous, the Venetians withstood successfully these numerous enemies, and though they lost their possessions in the Morea, the isles of Cyprus, continued to be prosperous and great.

Such was the power and influence of this State that when, in 1630, a Princess of Spain desired to pass up the Adriatic Gulf to Trieste to marry a son of the Emperor of Germany, her Senate refused permission for the Spanish fleet to pass. The only manner in which this daughter of Spain could reach her affianced husband was to fight her way through blood and fire. The Spaniard, haughty and powerful as he was, felt that it was no trifling matter to measure strength upon the ocean with the skillful commanders and practiced seaman of "The Queen of the Adriatic." Indisposed as the Spanish Court was to accede to this claim of exclusive jurisdiction over this inland sea, it was finally obliged to yield. The gay and gallant

Venetians dispatched a squadron of eight vessels, under one of their most distinguished Admirals, Palasini, to convey her in safety to her destination. The Princess is said to have fallen in love with the Venetian commander and ever afterwards to have had affectionate regard for him.

Perhaps the most trying and terrible contest in which the Republic was ever engaged, not excepting that with Genoa, was her struggle for the maintenance of her sovereignty in Candia. In 1645, the Turks, under the pretence of attacking the Knights of St. John in their stronghold of Malta, fitted out and dispatched a fleet of three hundred and forty-eight galleys, on board of which were fifty thousand choice troops. The expedition was in reality destined for the conquest of Candia, then the most important of the foreign possessions of the Republic. The Venetians were taken by surprise. Slight successes at first rewarded the suddenness of the Turkish attack. In the first campaign they took Canca, a place of importance ; but thirty thousand Ottomans left their bones bleaching under its walls. For twenty-five long years this desperate contest went on. For many years, although greatly inferior in numbers, did the Venetians blockade the Dardanelles, permitting no Turkish vessel, during the season of active operations, to pass into or out of the port of Constantinople. During the years 1655, 1656 and 1657, the Turks were fool-hardy enough to risk naval engagements in the Dardanelles for the purpose of clearing a passage to the open sea, but in each instance they were terribly beaten. But the resources of the Sublime Porte were too great for those of this little maritime State. Worn out, exhausted, she was ultimately obliged

to succumb to superior force. It was in vain she appealed to the great States of Christendom for aid. It was given so sparingly and in such stunted measure as to be of little avail. Even the forces of France, sent to her assistance at a critical moment, were in part led to a sanguinary death by the rashness of their leaders, and a part shamefully deserted Morosini at the most trying hour of his life.

Thus the whole island of Candia, save only two or three ports of minor importance, passed under the Turkish yoke in 1669, after 120,000 Osmanlis had perished side by side with 30,000 Christians. Thus one of the most important and richly productive Provinces of the Republic passed out of their hands. She found an ample revenge for this loss, fifteen years afterwards, in wresting the Morea from the Turks.

In 1718 begins her decline. The conquests of Morosini in the Morea and in the East, were the last achievements of Venice. At this time, too, the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope took away from her one of the greatest sources of her riches. Through Egypt, Venice had for centuries the monopoly of the commerce with the East; now the seas open it for England, France, Spain and Portugal. Her people, degenerate from luxury and the very excess of prosperity, urged an undignified and ignoble peace at Passarowitz, which restricted her territory, and almost blotted her from the map. The glory of Venice had departed. In order to maintain a mere existence, Venice was reduced to a tame inactivity in the wars which now broke out between France and Austria. But even this, with all its humiliating consequences, was insufficient

to preserve its nationality, for in 1796, the victorious French army having entered its territory, the Council of Venice laid down its power and surrendered to the French. In the possession of the French it remained until it was included in the treaty of Vienna, which gave it, with Lombardy, to Austria.

But Venice, though despoiled of her political importance, remains with Rome the most magnificent and poetical monument of that part of the world. In comparing one of these great cities to the other, Lannazo says that "Rome is the most wonderful example of the genius of man, but that Venice appears to be not the work of human hands, but seems to have been created by the gods themselves. Seated on one hundred and twenty small islands, united by no less than four hundred and eighty bridges, her streets of palaces are washed to their marble porticos by the waters of the Adriatic, down which, agile and swift, her gondolas glide in crowds like carriages in the streets of other capitals."

Venice is under the patronage of St. Mark the Evangelist, who gives his name to the principal piece of terra-firma called the Piazza di St. Marco. It is on the Piazza di St. Marco that the former glories of Venice are vividly recalled by its columns in porphyry and marble, its oriental gems, its flag staffs whence floated the conquered banners of Candia, Cyprus and the Morea; the wide Adriatic before it, over which none dared dispute her right. The Venetian traditions assert that the remains of the Evangelist were actually conveyed to Venice in the year 829, under the most singular circumstances. Two Vene-

tian merchants, named Bono and Rustico, being in Alexandria, where the Mahometans had begun a persecution against the Christians, ascertained that one of the churches contained the body of the Evangelist. They contrived by bribery and stratagem to gain possession of the holy relic, and in order to get it out in safety concealed the body in a basket covered with pork. When the Mahometans beheld the flesh of the accursed animal they investigated no further, and so the Saint was safely brought to Venice. He was deposited in the chapel of the Doge, and declared the patron Saint of the Republic, and the lion, which in the vision of Ezekiel is supposed to represent the Evangelist, was emblazoned on all their standards. But the most curious circumstance of all this is that the body of the Saint was actually privately sold. After it had achieved its reputation, it was deemed, probably, by this commercial people, too expensive a capital to lie dormant. This neat little bit of bargaining was of course never publicly acknowledged, and in order to allay all inquiries, the place where the holy deposit rested was declared to be a State secret!

Venice was governed by Austria in the same manner as her other Provinces. Wearied at length with thirty-three years of tyranny, they ventured in 1848 to raise their voices, and to demand some concessions. These petitions were scoffed at. At the same time, the greatest tyranny and barbarity were exercised towards some of the most conspicuous of the malcontents. At this juncture Danielo Manini and Nicolo Tommaseo, men of great capacity and courage, raised their voices in harangues to the people

against the Austrian oppression. They were immediately incarcerated. In the midst of the excitement caused by this arrest, news of the Revolution of Vienna reached Venice. *En masse* the people presented themselves beneath the windows of the Governor and imperatively demanded the liberation of Manini and other political prisoners. The Governor dared not refuse, but feeling danger at hand, ordered out the Civic Guard in addition to the regiments already in the town. But it was unfortunate for the Austrians that these regiments were mostly Italian. They all, with one accord, throwing away the Austrian colors, took part with the people, so that Zichy, the Military Governor of Venice, was obliged to resign his power into the hands of the people. Meantime Manini, at the head of the multitude, had got possession of the Arsenal, was elevated to the chief command, and in reply to the cry of "Viva Venezia" he substituted "Viva Italia;" thereby involving the whole of Italy in the same cry for liberty.

For nine months Manini, created Dictator of the Republic, kept Austria at bay, and governed wisely and with moderation. It cannot be denied that the eyes of Italy were all fixed on France, with hope and reliance. This peculiarity has always characterized the revolutions of Italy. The counter revolution in France, the defeat of Charles Albert, and the presence of the Austrians at the outskirts of Venice, made the condition of that city exceedingly critical. In these perilous moments, Manini, never losing his presence of mind, and foreseeing that a catastrophe was at hand, addressed the people on the

Piazza St. Marco. "Whatever may come to pass," said he, "friends and citizens, when you speak of me, say he deceived himself, but never, let me implore you, say this man deceived us, for to you and my country I have been true."

To all these dangers the cholera added its horrors; and news of the defeat of the Hungarians, and flight of Kossuth, from whom they had received assurances of succor, plunged the Venetians into profound discouragement. On the 24th of June, 1849, the Provisional Government, with Manini at its head, declared that its functions had ceased, and Venice accepted the conditions offered by Radetzky, and, after eighteen months' struggle, it surrendered to the Austrians. The safety of the chiefs of the insurrection having been stipulated, Danielo Manini left Venice and proceeded to Paris, where, like another Dante lamenting over the fall of his country, he died, surrounded by the esteem and admiration of the most distinguished men in France; men who had striven in vain to console him in his exile.

However much the people of Venice may have desired liberty, and been inclined to all sacrifices, there is a very curious fact related with regard to their disposition to fight. In the month of August the Venetians assembled in the Piazza St. Marco, tired of Manini's Fabian policy, and demanded to make a sortie *en masse*. Manini harangued them in the following terms:

"You want to fight. Do so. Who ever forbade you? But I confess that, though I have heard very loud talking, until now your words have not been borne out by acts. Now we shall see."

Manini, accordingly, had a table placed on the Piazza St. Marco, where every man who wished to venture upon this forlorn hope was to sign his name. At the end of many hours twelve names *only* adorned the page, six of which were effaced the next day.

A son of Manini, who appears worthy of the name he bears, is a distinguished officer in the Franco-Sardinian army, now threatening to overthrow the power his father once banished from "*Venezia la bella*."

The territory embraced in the Austrian Generalship of Venice is bounded on the North by the Tyrol (another Province of Austria,) East by the Adriatic Sea and the Kingdom of Illyria, South by Modena and the Papal States, and West by its coterminous Department of Lombardy. It embraces the following Provinces: Vicenza, Friuli, Venice, Verona, Belluno, Rovigo, Treviso and Padua.

The population of this Department was at the last census 2,281,732, and its area in square miles is 9,198. Thus it will be perceived that, whilst it embraces more territory than Lombardy, it has less population. Venice, its chief city, contained in 1846 a population of 127,925. The population, although the city passed through a most terrible siege in 1848, is perhaps greater now than it was when the census of 1846 was taken.

The rivers which flow eastwardly out of Lombardy, and debouch into the Adriatic, also water this Department.

Venice is the great seaport of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces. It once was the great entrepot for the commerce of the East, but that commerce has long since sought other channels. The local trade of this port is

still considerable; there cleared in 1853, 816 vessels, of an aggregate tonnage of 129,811 tons. The coasting trade of that year was carried on in 3,694 small vessels, tonnage 299,883; and there arrived 876, tonnage 134,444, besides 3,908 coasters, tonnage 286,651. Its trade is much affected by its contiguity to Trieste, the waters of whose harbor are much deeper than those of its own. Nowhere can more than sixteen feet, at the highest rise, be obtained in any of the numerous entrances to that harbor. Indeed, the most frequented pass into its lagunes is at Malmoco, and there is a bar outside of it which vessels are compelled to cross, the deepest water upon which is ten feet.

The statements made in a former chapter, relative to the levying of taxes and the raising of revenue in Lombardy by Austria, will apply with equal justice to their like operations in Venetia. It is abundantly in evidence that Austria most shamefully discriminates against her Trans-Alpine Provinces in matters of revenue. There can be no equitable defence for such conduct upon her part. There can be no justification for an unequal, uneven rule upon the part of the sovereign head of a great Empire towards the people of certain districts of that Empire. However ignorant they may be upon matters of science, art, or general intelligence, they feel intensely all burdens upon their labor. They may for a time rest content under the heaviest impositions, if their pride or patriotism be aroused. But they are quick to learn and compute the comparative amounts of taxation put upon them and their fellow subjects of other Provinces. When they clearly comprehend a difference such as is alluded to above, every

tax-payer is at heart a rebel, and the red cross of revolt is hailed everywhere with electric enthusiasm and joy. Hence the quick, terrible revolutions of 1848, in Milan, in Mantua, in Venice, and in all the cities of Lombardo-Venetian Italy. Hence, there will be a renewal of these revolutions, upon a grander scale—a repetition, with a more bloody *mise en scene*—should defeat or disaster overtake the Austrians in these Provinces.

CHAPTER VI.

ORIGIN OF THE WAR — MOTIVES OF FRANCE, AUSTRIA AND SARDINIA — THE
MANIFESTOES OF FRANCIS JOSEPH, VICTOR EMANUEL AND LOUIS NAPO-
LEON.

THE origin of the present war, like the beginning of all other events of magnitude—events so great that none, however gifted with a profound insight into the future of human affairs, can either foresee or approximate to the probable consequences which may, immediately or remotely, wait upon them—is to be found in a series of mixed motives. First, Austria and France have been in collision more frequently than any other Continental nations. They have run a race of rivalry, in arms and conquest, for centuries back. Italy has ever been to them a field of combat. So jealous was England of the power of France at the conclusion of the treaty of 1815, that the Prince Regent (afterwards George IV.) insisted upon Austria keeping the Lombardo-Venetian provinces, in order that the Alpine gates of Italy might be shut against the French by the interjection of a first rate European power between them and Middle and Southern Italy.

But Louis Napoleon would be more or less than a Bonaparte, could he forget the treachery of the House of Hapsburg to his uncle, and the part she took in the humiliation of France in 1814–15. Did she not refuse, in recent years, to join in the crusade of the Western

Powers against Russia? Has she not turned a deaf ear to the patient, but earnest, remonstrances addressed to her by France and England against her maladministration in Italy? Has she not persistently refused to exercise her established influence with the Central and Southern States of the Peninsula, for the amelioration of their terrible outrages upon humanity?

But, above all, she has recently resolved to wipe out of existence the only liberal constitutional Kingdom of Italy. This Kingdom is the sincere friend and ally of France. Her soldiers proved this at the Tchernaya and in the desperate combats fought under the walls of Sebastopol. The Imperial family of France has had its relationship recently, drawn more closely to the Court of Sardinia, by the marriage of Prince Napoleon, son of Jerome Bonaparte, to the Princess Clothilde, the eldest daughter of Victor Emanuel. The Emperor evidently felt that he could not permit Austria to crush out the only power in Italy which thoroughly sympathized with France.

Sardinia has long had a traditional policy. That policy has been to increase her territory to the East and South. Charles Albert evidently desired to constitute himself King of the whole of Northern Italy, if not of the whole Peninsula. The execution of this idea was suspended by his overthrow in 1848, but the policy of the father is, doubtless, fondly cherished by the son. Besides, he and his people hug closely to their hearts an unrelenting hate to Austria, from the memories of past defeat, and therefore, of national disgrace. A deeper feeling may be said to pervade many of his subjects; they desire the freedom

of their brethren in the neighboring States from the Austrian rule, and regard their King and Louis Napoleon as their destined liberators.

Austria, since the death of Francis I., has changed the policy of that Monarch in regard to Italy. She has sought, steadily, to advance her interests and power. Hence, the marriage of members of her royal family to nearly every Prince, Duke or Lord, within the limits of Italy. There is but little doubt she would have a royal Princess ready to marry every Pope, if she felt that it would advance her interests; for, surely, her royal family is numerous enough to supply all the civilized States of the world with wives for their rulers, as Saxe Coburg is with husbands for the Queens and Princesses. Hence the Continental proverb, that "Austria wins her victories by the marriage bed." She desires, evidently, that she shall be sole arbiter of the fate of Italy, and that she shall rule without a rival or a peer.

Her ruler, like all despots, is lynx-eyed, and has not failed to discover the depth and intensity of hatred entertained by all Italians toward his Empire. He knows, full well, that if a free, constitutional State, like Sardinia, is suffered to continue, as a protest against tyranny and as an example of comparative freedom, it will excite the spirit of revolt among his subjects. There is nothing which restrictive monarchs dread so much as domestic revolution. Whilst their armies are fighting nationalities they do not constantly dread that the very basis of their thrones is rotting away from them. Let revolution but once begin, and they quake like the Assyrian monarch at

his midnight feast; for they cannot tell where nor how the lightning of popular indignation will strike: it is a subtle, pervading element, that seems to lurk everywhere, with hugely explosive qualities, so soon as a point of contact is gained.

Perhaps the best mode of submitting an unprejudiced view of the immediate motives and policy of all the belligerents, will be obtained by presenting extracts from the manifestoes put forward by the different Monarchs.

The following is an extract from the manifesto of the Austrian Emperor:

AUSTRIAN MANIFESTO.

"To my people:—I have ordered my faithful and gallant army to put a stop to the inimical acts (*Anfeindungen*) which for a series of years have been committed by the neighboring State of Sardinia against the indisputable rights of my Crown, and against the integrity of the realm placed by God under my care, which acts have lately attained the very highest point (*auf ihren Hohenpunkte angelangt*). By so doing I have fulfilled the painful (*schwere*) but unavoidable duty of a Sovereign. My conscience being at rest, I can look up to an omnipotent God, and patiently await His award. With confidence I leave my decision to the impartial judgment of contemporaneous and future generations. Of the approbation of my faithful subjects I am sure. More than ten years ago the same enemy—violating international law and the usages of war, and without any offence being given—entered the Lombardo-Venetian territory with the intent to acquire possession of it. Although the enemy was twice totally defeated by my gallant army, and at the mercy of the victor, I behaved generously, and proposed a reconciliation (*reichte die Hand zur Versohnung*). I did not appropriate to myself one inch of his territory; I encroached on no right which belongs to Sardinia, as one of the members of the European family of nations; I insisted on no guarantees against the recurrence of

similar events. The hand of peace which I in all sincerity extended, and which was taken, appeared to me to be a sufficient guarantee. The blood which my army shed for the honor and right of Austria, I sacrificed on the altar of peace (*den Frieden brachte Ich das Blut meiner Armee zum Opfer*). The reward for such unexampled forbearance was immediate continuation of enmity, which increased from year to year, and perfidious agitation against the peace and welfare of my Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom. Well knowing what a precious boon peace was for my people and for Europe, I patiently bore with those new hostilities. My patience was not exhausted when the more extensive measures which I was forced to take, in consequence of the revolutionary agitation on the frontiers of my Italian Provinces and within the same, were made an excuse for a higher degree of hostility. Willingly accepting the well-meant mediation of friendly Powers for the maintenance of peace, I consented to become a party to a Congress of the Five Great Powers. The four points proposed by the Royal Government of Great Britain as a basis for the deliberations of the Congress were forwarded to my Cabinet, and I accepted them with the conditions which were calculated to bring about a true, sincere, and durable peace. In the consciousness that no step on the part of my Government could, even in the most remote degree, lead to a disturbance of the peace, I demanded that the Power which was the cause of the complication, and had brought about the danger of war, should, as a preliminary measure, disarm. Being pressed thereto by friendly Powers, I at length accepted the proposal for a general disarmament. The mediation failed in consequence of the unacceptableness of the conditions on which Sardinia made her consent dependent. Only one means of maintaining peace remained. I addressed myself directly to the Sardinian Government, and summoned it to place its army on a peace footing and to disband the free corps. As Sardinia did not accede to my demand, the moment for deciding the matter by an appeal to arms has arrived.

I have ordered my army to enter Sardinia."

The vindication of Victor Emanuel is subjoined :

SARDINIAN MANIFESTO.

“Soldiers!—Austria, which increases its army on our frontiers, and threatens to invade our territory, because liberty here reigns with order—because not force, but concord and affection between people and Sovereign here rule the State—because the cries of suffering, of oppressed Italy here find a hearing, Austria dares to intimate to us, armed only in defence, that we are to lay down our arms and put ourselves in her power.

The outrageous intimation called for a worthy reply. I have disdainfully rejected it.

Soldiers! I announce this to you, certain that you will take to yourselves the outrage offered to your King—to the nation. The announcement I give to you, is the announcement of war. To arms, then, soldiers!

You will find yourselves opposed to no new enemy; but, if he be brave and disciplined, you do not fear the meeting, and may boast of the days of Goito, of Pastrengo, of Santa Lucia, of Somma Campagna, of Custoza itself, where only four brigades contended for three days with five *corps d'armée*.

I will be your leader. On former occasions we have known a great part of you in the heat of combats; and I, fighting by the side of my magnanimous father, admired your valor with pride.

On the field of honour and of glory you, I am certain, will know how to preserve, and also to increase, your fame as valiant soldiers.”

The foregoing would not be complete without adding that of Louis Napoleon :

“Austria in causing her army to enter the territories of the King of Sardinia, our ally, declares war against us. She thus violates treaties and justice, and menaces our frontiers. All the great Powers have protested against this aggression. Piedmont having accepted the conditions which ought to have insured peace, one asks what can be the reason of



Nictor Emmanuel.

this sudden invasion? It is that Austria has brought matters to this extremity, that she must either rule up to the Alps, or Italy must be free to the shores of the Adriatic; for in this country every corner of territory which remains independent endangers her power.

Hitherto moderation has been the rule of my conduct; now energy becomes my first duty. Let France arm, and resolutely tell Europe:—"I desire not conquest, but I desire firmly to maintain my national and traditional policy. I observe the treaties on condition that no one shall violate them against me. I respect the territories and rights of neutral Powers, but I boldly avow my sympathies for a people whose history is mingled with my own, and who groan under foreign oppression."

France has shown her hatred of anarchy. She has been pleased to give me a power strong enough to reduce into nonentity the abettors of disorder and the incorrigible members of those old factions whom one incessantly sees confederating with our enemies; but she has not for all that abdicated her task of civilization. Her natural allies have always been those who desire the improvement of the human race, and when she draws the sword it is not to dominate but to liberate. The object of this war, then, is to restore Italy to herself, not to impose upon her a change of masters, and we shall then have upon our frontiers a friendly people, who will owe to us their independence.

We do not go into Italy to foment disorder or to disturb the power of the Holy Father, whom we have replaced upon his throne, but to remove from him this foreign pressure, which weighs upon the whole Peninsula, and to help to establish there order, based upon legitimate satisfied interests. We are going, then, to seek upon this classic ground, illustrated by so many victories, the footsteps of our fathers. God grant that we may be worthy of them! I am going soon to place myself at the head of the army."

More elaborate vindications of the motives of the three Monarchs, have appeared from the pens of their Prime Ministers, but the gist and pith of all they have said is contained in the official utterances of their Sovereigns.

CHAPTER VII.

LOUIS NAPOLEON—THE SELF-DECEPTION OF THE WORLD RELATIVE TO HIS TALENTS—EARLY CAREER GIVEN TO ELUCIDATE THE CAUSES OF THE WORLD'S IGNORANCE OF HIS ABILITIES—HIS BIRTH AND BIRTH-PLACE—DECREE OF BANISHMENT—HIS MOTHER, HORTENSE BEAUHARNAIS—HER RETREAT AT LAKE GENEVA—DESCRIPTION OF IT—HIS TEACHERS AND EDUCATION—THE ATTENTION OF HIS MOTHER TO THESE THINGS—HIS EARLY CHARACTER—AUGSBURG—ARENBURG—HIS REPUBLICANISM—EFFECTS OF MOUNTAIN SCENERY UPON HIS MIND—HIS BROTHER NAPOLEON—RECONCILIATION OF LOUIS AND HORTENSE—CONSPIRACY OF THE BROTHERS RELATIVE TO ITALY—THEY JOIN THE ROMAGNIAN INSURRECTION—APPOINTED TO THE SUPREME COMMAND—RESIGN IT—THE BOLOGNESE, TO FLATTER LOUIS PHILIPPE, COMPEL THEM TO RETIRE TO FORLI—DEATH OF NAPOLEON—SUPPOSED CRIMINALITY OF LOUIS NAPOLEON A GROSS ERROR—FEVER AT ANCONA—RUSE OF HIS MOTHER TO CONCEAL HIM FROM THE AUSTRIANS—ESCAPE TO ENGLAND—OFFER OF TALLEYRAND—RETURN TO SWITZERLAND—BECOMES AN AUTHOR—HIS INTERCOURSE WITH LEADING MEN—HIS ATTEMPT AT STRASBURG—LOUIS PHILIPPE'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE PLOT—FAILURE—SHIPPED TO THE UNITED STATES—ANECDOTE OF JOSEPH BONAPARTE—CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS MOTHER—AFFIANCED TO MATHILDE—CONDUCT IN THE UNITED STATES—LOVE TO HIS MOTHER—REVERENCE FOR HER MEMORY—NATIONAL AIR OF FRANCE—DRIVEN FROM SWITZERLAND—GOES TO ENGLAND—RECEPTION IN LONDON—COUNT D'ORSAY—LORD EGLINGTON'S TOURNAMENT—IMPRESSION HE MADE ON GREAT LADIES—FACULTY FOR CHILD'S PLAY—FINANCIAL EMBARRASMENTS—BOULOGNE EXPEDITION—HAM—HIS ESCAPE—RETURN TO LONDON—HIS FRIENDS—HIS POLITICAL CONVICTIONS—MANNER OF LIVING IN LONDON—LITERARY WORK—DEATH OF LOUIS, EX-KING OF HOLLAND—THE REVOLUTION OF 1848—LOUIS NAPOLEON SPECIAL CONSTABLE—PROPOSED AS DEPUTY TO THE

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY—ELECTED BY FOUR DEPARTMENTS—SCENE IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY—RE-ELECTED—FIRST SPEECH IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY—ELECTION FOR PRESIDENCY—CONDUCT DURING ELECTION—ELECTED PRESIDENT—INAUGURATION—RIBILLOT—GENERAL PETIT.

FAMILIAR as the public are with the striking events in the career of the French Emperor since he became the head of a great nation, there are yet many of the facts of his life previous to his election as a Deputy to the National Assembly in 1848, which possess a lively interest for those who admire great talent, wherever and by whomsoever displayed. An additional interest is imparted to the early incidents of his career, because he has so completely over-set all prior estimates placed upon his abilities. People desire to unravel this puzzle, to solve the enigma. The world had set him down as a visionary, a schemer, without either the bravery or the talent necessary to achieve a very ordinary reputation as a statesman or a soldier. Contrary to this wiseacre opinion of the world, he has displayed talents equal to any emergency which has, as yet, arisen—resources ample enough to meet every crisis that has fallen upon his career as a public ruler—nay, more, he has shown himself capable of first-rate diplomatic combinations. He set nearly all Europe upon Russia in 1854. Those nations who did not actively participate in the Crimean war were forced to affect a “masterly inactivity” policy.

It is too late, now, to undertake a defence of his abilities. He has entered upon a new arena of action. He is at the head of a great army, and there is but little doubt

his talents are fully adequate to all the demands of this new theatre of achievement.

The world finds itself deceived, and now wishes to go back and lift the veil of his past history, in order to discover where and how the deception came about. This can only be done by a somewhat lengthy statement of his education, places of residence, and modes of living; by references to those with whom he came in contact and with whom he habitually associated; and by allusions to his modes of thought, as displayed in action. This review shall be as brief as possible.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is the third son of Louis Bonaparte, ex-King of Holland, brother of Napoleon I., and of Hortense Beauharnais, daughter of the Empress Josephine by her first husband, the Marquis de Beauharnais. He was born on the 20th of April, 1808. Although son of the King of Holland, as if in anticipation of his future destinies, he first saw the light in the palace of the Tuilleries. But the events which followed in quick succession during the early years of his boyhood, appeared destined not only to exclude him from the palace of the French Sovereigns, but to banish him forever even from the soil of France. Although the existence of the Duke de Reichstadt, direct heir to the Emperor Napoleon, gave the children of Hortense (two of whom were then living) little importance, the decrees of the new Government of France banished the whole of the Bonaparte family from its territory. Accordingly, Hortense and her two children began a weary pilgrimage from state to state and town to town, now driven away by the authorities, now impelled

by her own restless spirit, which, after the wondrous elevation of her mother, herself, and all around her, could not rest, nor feel convinced that hope was at an end, and that Napoleon, the conqueror, was at last conquered and politically dead for ever. At length, Hortense, who was then known as Duchess de St. Leu, felt a craving for rest, and proceeded to search for a retreat where, secure from the assaults and insults of her enemies, her mind could recover its serenity and find occupation in the only duty now left her, the education of her children. Sickened with the hum of human voices, bitterly convinced of the shallowness of courtly friendships, Hortense strove to find an asylum where the unchanging beauty and majesty of nature should elevate her above the petty, irritating cares which had persecuted her since her exile, and at the same time console her for the loss of the evanescent grandeur of the world. She accordingly fixed her residence on the lake of Constance, near the old and picturesque town of that name, at the point where the waters of the lake, becoming suddenly narrower, afford a passage for the rapid Rhine whose green waters, rushing in clear distinctness through the dark blue waves of the lake, separate it into two parts. Near this spot, adding to the striking beauty of the scene, is the old covered bridge thrown across the stream which connects it with the territory of the Duchy of Baden.

Here, under the care of the Abbe Bertrand and M. de Marmold, the education of Louis began with methodical earnestness; though the wandering and perilous life he had led had already inculcated many moral lessons that

after life cannot give, and of which experience alone can be the teacher. The professors to whom she had confided him not being well versed in the lighter accomplishments, Hortense herself undertook the task of teaching drawing, dancing and music, in all of which accomplishments she was a proficient. Louis, however, proved to be a difficult boy to teach; there was a recklessness and vivacity about him which made him chafe under restraint and methodical study. A more severe professor was therefore sought for, and found in the person of M. Lebas, whose father had been a personal friend of Robespierre and who, having at his downfall, the courage to prove his admiration by imitation, had shot himself in order not to survive him. Louis, under this man, began to acquire an independent and firm character. He had no silly prejudices concerning his rank and birth, but associated freely with all the boys of his own age in the neighborhood; his chief friend being a miller's son whose father lived on the bridge over the Rhine. Louis Napoleon was tender hearted, impulsive and charitable, and there are many anecdotes told of his liberality and generosity in his boyish days. As Louis advanced towards manhood, his mother began to feel it necessary that he should have the advantages of a public education and association with youths of his own age and position, which, although he had been born a Prince, was no other than that of a private gentleman. Hortense therefore resolved on proceeding to Augsburg, where for four years he attended the lectures of the University. In the intervals of the scholastic terms, Hortense took him with her through various

parts of Italy and Germany, and, probably, in these excursions did more to form his mind and store his memory than all the professors of Augsburg. Meanwhile, Hortense, having chosen a most beautiful and picturesque site in the Canton of Thurgovia, began to construct a chateau for her future residence which is known as the Castle of Arenburg, and to which Napoleon's advent to the throne has added, besides its renown for picturesque beauties, great historical importance.

The situation of Arenburg was striking and beautiful, commanding an extensive view of the lake of Constance, the largest of the Swiss lakes, one indeed which loses the fairy character of a lake and assumes the dignity of a sea, but a sea enclosed by majestic and towering mountains. Those who have lived in a mountainous country have felt the effect produced by its wild and savage grandeur upon the mind. There is no doubt that the scenery amid which the youth of Napoleon was passed contributed much to the strength of his character, to his habit of silence, and to a certain dignity of mind, fearlessness and power of endurance, which are the characteristics of all mountaineers. Louis Napoleon, from his residence, his education and companions, could not but be a Republican in theory at this time. But the traditions of his family, his mother's adoration of Napoleon I., the accounts of his sufferings, all contributed to nourish in his heart a desire for revenge, which first gave rise, probably, to the vague ambition of achieving some position that should rehabilitate and reëstablish his dynasty. His brother Napoleon, all this time was with his father, who resided in Florence.

A tardy reconciliation had taken place between Hortense and her husband, so that by visiting Florence she was allowed the enjoyment of her elder son's society.

It would appear that as early as 1830 the two young Princes, on hearing of the fall of Charles X., had entered into a conspiracy to subvert the governments of Italy, for the purpose of establishing an Italian Republic. That they may then have entertained ideas of obtaining the supremacy of Italy, founded, as such ideas would naturally be, upon the traditions of both Napoleon I. and Eugene Beauharnais, is probable; but at this time they could neither of them have thought of the throne of France, for the Duke de Reichstadt was still living, as well as Joseph, who was of course the head of the Bonaparte family after the direct heir.

Louis Napoleon and his brother both openly joined the insurgents in Romagna, and out of deference to their rank, they were at first promoted to the supreme command, but their youth and inexperience soon obliged them to make over their posts to Sercognani and Armandi.

In 1831, however, the Provisional Government of Bologna, having some hope of obtaining the protection of France, in order to flatter Louis Philippe refused to let the two Princes serve, even as private soldiers, in the army of Romagna. They were therefore compelled to leave, and retired to Forli. There are, in the numerous Italian memoirs of those concerned in the revolution of that period, several allusions to the Princes, and all bear testimony to their skill and personal bravery. Meanwhile, overcome by anxiety for her sons, wearied by the weak

and querulous complaints of her husband, her heart riven by witnessing the deep agony of the young wife of her eldest son, about to become a mother, Hortense through unheard of difficulty and peril contrived to join her children at Forli. Here, however, the greatest sorrow of all awaited her. Louis received his mother in his arms, as overcome with fatigue and anxiety she descended from her carriage, and drawing her to his heart revealed to her that he was now her only son, for Napoleon, his elder brother, was dead. Detractors of the present Emperor of the French have even gone so far back as this to discover crime, and have attributed his brother's death to foul play. But there could be no motive for such a deed on the part of Louis Napoleon. There was no inheritance between them; for even had the throne of France been in their family, there were many who stood in his way before his brother. There was nothing extraordinary in the fact that a young Prince, exposed to unusual fatigue, bodily privation and mental excitement, should die of a typhus fever, caught in the plains of Romagna.

News now came that the Austrians were advancing and there was no time for the indulgence of grief. Hortense and her son pursued their way to Ancona, and here, in the midst of the most imminent peril, Louis Napoleon was seized with fever and was presently declared to have the measles. Hortense had engaged a vessel to take her to Corfu. It was, however, impossible for her son to be moved. She therefore with great courage and presence of mind resolved to remain, allowing, however, the vessel to sail and arranging matters so that it was supposed by

all that Louis had sailed in her, and that Hortense had remained behind on account of illness. With continued precaution she concealed his presence in the apartment until he was able to depart in the disguise of a footman behind his mother's carriage. They took refuge in Tuscany, spite of the refusal of the Grand Duke to afford them protection. Panoplied by the maternal love which inspired Hortense for his safety they reached England. They were well recieved in the higher circles of that country. At length Hortense desired to return to Switzerland and passports were offered to her by Talleyrand, through the north of France, as it was feared, Belgium being then in commotion, the "braves Belges" much in want of a King, like the frogs, would seize upon the first Prince that fell in their way and place him on their throne. Had this occurred, would that throne have satisfied Louis Napoleon? This cannot be answered, but certain it is, that if Talleyrand could have foreseen the destinies reserved for the young scion of the Bonaparte race, he would have allowed him to go through Brussels, and have run the risk of his being contented with that small Sovereignty.

Once more in Switzerland, Louis Napoleon, feeling the influence of the repose around him, fell into speculative philosophy. Here he wrote "*Les Reveries*," a work containing political maxims and foreshadowing his ambitious projects. His life at Arenburg was one of tranquil enjoyment. Hortense lived, if not in state, in affluence. The country round was beautiful; the lake spread its broad expanse before him. Arenburg, too, had become a sort

of shrine for travelers. As time mellowed and poetized the great deeds of the Empire, and martyrdom and death effaced the faults of the Emperor, all that pertained to him became interesting and sacred. Louis Napoleon was thus brought into communication with many of the master spirits of the day, who kept him well informed of the political atmosphere of Europe. The results of these various elements was the ill-judged and badly-executed attempt at Strasburg to obtain the sovereign power of France. It must, however, not be forgotten that it is proved beyond all doubt, that from the first Louis Philippe was informed through Colonel Vaudrey, the pretended friend of Louis Napoleon, of the whole conspiracy, and that he had allowed it to go on in order to destroy Louis Napoleon's pretensions through the medium of ridicule. He had not scrupled, in the same way, to destroy all the prestige attached to his niece, the Duchess de Berri, by forcing her into the necessity of a marriage in prison to screen her reputation. In pursuance of the same policy, Louis Philippe took care not to give importance to the Bonapartes by persecution or condign punishment, but treating the whole affair with contempt, sent the young Prince on board a French ship to the United States. This expedition was looked on by all parties, it must be confessed, as rash and absurd. The eldest surviving member of the Bonaparte family, Joseph Count de Survilliers, looked on it with disapproval, and as a positive infringement of his rights. "For," said he to his physician and friend, "if the crown of France is to come to our family, it comes to me before

Louis Napoleon; for I am head of the family, and should not allow him to overlook me."

Louis Napoleon baffled, but not conquered, landed in the United States, where he was received by two of his cousins, Achille and Lucien Murat, now citizens of the young Republic; both of whom were unknown to him. The correspondence of Louis Napoleon with his mother during this period is full of feeling, philosophy, and courage. Amidst all his sorrows he appears to have carried away with him a love grief. He was deeply attached at that time to his cousin Mathilde, with whom he had constantly associated during his visits to Florence, and who had often come to Arenburg on visits to his mother. Some difficulty, however, appears to have separated them, arising from the young lady herself, whose capricious affections underwent a change. It was not, however, until 1841, after the expedition of Boulogne, that she married the Count Anatole Demidoff.

There have been various conflicting accounts with regard to his conduct in the United States. Some have described him as dissipated, and frequenting disreputable society, as well as getting deeply into debt; which debts are said to be still unpaid. This is scarcely probable. Louis Napoleon was not at that time poor. Hortense, like the rest of the Bonaparte family (with the exception of Jerome), had well provided for a reverse of fortune. Besides, it was not even Louis Napoleon's habit to seek low associates, nor was he fond of low, noisy dissipation; more especially, he was in no way addicted to intemperance. Rumor, therefore, in spreading these reports, has probably mistaken

one cousin for another, and attributed to the Emperor the freaks of his cousin Pierre Bonaparte, who was twice in the United States. Louis Napoleon was recalled from his exile by alarming accounts of his mother's health, and making all haste, and defying all the orders of the French Government, which, however, had no power over him, once on the American shores, he returned to Switzerland.

He arrived only in time to receive her last sigh. Napoleon's love for his mother had in it a tenderness and devotion even beyond that of a son. She had been his instructor and companion, and from the hour of her change of position she had manifested great and noble qualities, which the frivolity and prosperity of a Court might for ever have left unrevealed. Hortense was a woman to be loved and revered, and even at this distance of years Napoleon's love for his mother has suffered no change. He has striven in all ways to associate her with his present high fortune; he has made an air of her composition, "*Partant pour la Syrie*," the national air of France; the ship which bore him from Marseilles to Genoa on this Italian expedition is called *La Reine Hortense*, after his mother.

Louis Napoleon remained in Switzerland until the Duke de Montebello, instructed by Louis Philippe, demanded his *extradition* from Switzerland. The Swiss were disposed to resent this infringement on their liberties, but as the French threatened war they yielded, and Louis Napoleon went to England, having, thanks to the ill-judged movement of Louis Philippe, acquired celebrity and political importance sufficient to make him partizans and friends, as well as an object of public attention.

Here he entered into the promiscuous society of London, where for some time he was made a *lion* at fashionable parties, until his reserved manners and his absence of small talk, which made it so difficult to *draw him out*, made popular curiosity leave him aside. His particular and intimate friend was Count D'Orsay, a man who had many detractors, and probably many faults, but a man undoubtedly of intellect and courage, highly accomplished, and capable of strong attachments. Besides Gore House, Louis Napoleon visited frequently at Eglinton Castle. The young Earl, then a bachelor, gave the celebrated tournament at Eglinton Castle. During the preparations and rehearsals Louis Napoleon became intimate with many of the English nobility. He distinguished himself, too, at the tournament for his skill and his horsemanship. He was an admirable billiard-player, and a great chess-player, as well as fond of a game of whist. The intimacy with Lord Eglinton continued after the marriage of the Earl, and Louis Napoleon was frequently invited to stay at the Castle. The impression that he made on Lady Eglinton and her visitors was that of a quiet, gentlemanly, inoffensive young man, who contributed nothing either to the conversation or the amusement of the company. He was skillful at all physical exercises, but very still and silent in a drawing-room, and certainly left no impression of possessing great powers of mind or extraordinary capacities of any kind. When the ladies withdrew from the table he was in the habit of leaving, and usually proceeded to the nursery, where he had impressed the three young daughters of the Countess, by a former marriage, with a

great idea of his talents in all baby plays, such as ball, blind man's buff, etc., but more especially they remembered his extraordinary genius in making rabbits and shadows on the wall. Evidently Louis' mind and inner nature were at work, and during these years in London revealed themselves to few.

In 1840, Louis Napoleon, by this time no longer having his mother as a faithful steward to administer his fortune, became exceedingly embarrassed, and was likewise deeply in debt. It is almost impossible for foreign private fortunes to compete with such wealth as was possessed by those with whom he associated in England (Lord Eglinton for instance, who has an income of forty thousand pounds) without entailing ruin. Perhaps his embarrassments contributed to make him precipitate the expedition he meditated to Boulogne against Louis Philippe. All details on this rash, ill-advised, and worse-executed expedition would be now superfluous. Suffice it to say that Louis Napoleon was taken prisoner and conveyed to Ham, where he was kept in close confinement from 1840 to 1846. On the 25th of May he effected his escape in the disguise of a workman, and through the ready wit, skill and devotion of his physician, Dr. Conneau, who had been a friend of his mother. Once out of the fortress, Louis Napoleon and his valet made the best of their way to St. Quentin, passed the Belgian frontier, and were soon safe in London. In London he found his old friends, Count d'Orsay and Lady Blessington, who, though in hopeless embarrassment, welcomed him most cordially, and in addition to these he had the countenance and support of a great English con-

nexion, which his cousin the Princess Marie of Baden had formed by espousing the Marquis of Douglas, eldest son of the Duke of Hamilton. To her, more than to all others, he is said to have confided his projects and hopes, and to have distinctly declared his conviction that the seventeen years of the Orleans rule being about to expire, the Bourbon branch having reigned as long after the restoration, the turn of the Bonapartes had arrived.

During his residence in London Louis Napoleon, excluding himself from general society, frequented Gore House, at which no women ever visited, but which was frequented by all the celebrated artists, politicians, and literati of the day. He went to the clubs, where he was admitted as a visitor, and in general associated with that sort of back-door society that brought him in contact with the best men of the day, and several of the most beautiful and brilliant women—living independently, but splendidly, without the pale of society. During his residence here, he wrote his “*melanges politiques*,” which, like all his works, is distinguished for thought and great elegance and neatness of style. Whilst he was in England his father, Louis, ex-King of Holland, died at Florence. Louis Napoleon had, during his imprisonment, vainly petitioned Louis Philippe for permission to visit his dying father; and on his arrival in England, after his escape from Ham, had endeavored to obtain passports from the Tuscan Ambassador, but had been refused; so that he was deprived of the satisfaction of closing his father’s eyes.

The French Revolution of 1848, and the Revolutions of Germany, Italy and Hungary in the same year, did

not produce a revolution in steady, regular, sober-sided England. There were some popular demonstrations which alarmed good, easy souls. But the ministry of that day had sense enough to perceive that the multitude only wanted to exercise their lungs and muscles in the fine air of the southern suburbs of London. On the occasion of the 10th of April, when most uneasiness was felt in certain classes of English society, the future Monarch of thirty-five millions of people served as a special constable, in conjunction with all the respectable portion of London. The troops were not called out; the head of Government contenting himself with a heavy display of extra-police-men. The whole affair passed off pleasantly, and has ever since been regarded as a subject of mirth. Such a demonstration in Paris at this hour would bring Marshal Magnan down upon itself with artillery, infantry, and cavalry in powerful force. Such is the difference between the tone and temper of the two governments.

At the May elections of 1848, Louis Napoleon was proposed as deputy to represent four different Departments in the National Assembly: Paris, Yonne, Cayenne, and Corsica. He was elected in all four of them by tremendous majorities. His first act, after his election was declared, was to publish an address to the electors of these Departments, thanking them in elegant and graceful language for the honor bestowed.

He wrote to the National Assembly also, informing them that he understood his name was being made a watchword for disorder, and a rallying-cry for anarchy, and avowing his willingness to resign his deputyship rather

than suffer such a use to be made of it. He had omitted to use the word "Republic," and a tremendous uproar broke out in the Chamber of Deputies in consequence thereof.

The following description of the scene which ensued, when the proposition for his admission into the Assembly was made *pro forma*, will prove highly interesting, as it is racily and richly French :

"On the 13th of June came on the great question proposed by the (Provisional) Government. M. Dagoussie, we are told, in a moment of silence (recorded as 'profound, religious and solemn,') proposed the 'maintenance of the law of 1832, as regarded Louis Napoleon; in short, to banish the member elect for Paris, the Yonne and Mayenne. We are perfectly convinced, in spite of all the other writers who have wielded the pen on this subject, that it would have been fortunate for France, ultimately, had M. Dagoussie's motion been carried, and the Napoleon family been excluded.—The report of the Committee was read; it was thus rendered, 'The Commission have decided that Louis Napoleon shall be admitted'—and M. Jules Favre, in the moment of enthusiasm, mentioned the word 'Prince,' which was like an electric shock to the mountain, bringing down the thunder from above.

"In vain M. Favre explained,—M. Ledru Rollin rolled backwards and forwards in his seat, like a quaker when the spirit is about to move him; M. Flocon, who always did gesticulate, now gesticulated more furiously; Lamartine angrily devoured a pen; Marie appeared, like a lawyer, to consider the words as part of a client's case; and

M. Arago seemed to turn a deaf ear to any remark, and was amusing himself by reading a paper. But the thunder had rolled, and continued to roll; the whole Mountain were furious, and Ledru Rollin, no longer able to constrain his Republican spirit, turned the debate into a personality which terminated when M. Buchez, the representative of the Government, opposed the vote of the Committee, and accused Louis Napoleon of fostering the angry feelings manifested hourly in the streets. The debate was furious; the name of the Prince de Joinville was mentioned; but at length it terminated,—and in spite of its being declared that Louis Napoleon aspired to the Empire, his admission was carried by at least two-thirds of the Assembly.”

Louis Napoleon was reëlected by five Departments, and took his seat in the National Assembly during the following September. He saw fit to pronounce a speech upon the occasion of his admission, which promised in most decided and emphatic tones fealty to France and the Republic, one and indivisible. His enemies were evidently not prepared for such a declaration from him. They had not calculated upon so much prudence, foresight, and self-control.

This is a copy of that brief-pointed speech; a speech which attracted attention and vigilant criticism, not only in France, but throughout the civilized world:

“Citizen Representatives,—I cannot remain silent under the calumnies which are circulated against me. I wish to explain the sentiments which animate, and which will always animate me. After thirty years of exile and suffering, I again return to my country, and enjoy my rights as a French citizen. The Republic has done me this act of

justice; let her, then, receive my oath of devotion, and gratitude.

“May the generous citizens who, by their votes, have placed me in this Assembly, be convinced that I regard tranquillity as the first and most urgent necessity of this country, and that I advocate democratic institutions, which I consider as the first wants of the people.

“For a long time I have lived in exile, and have been unable to dedicate to the service of my country my thoughts and my studies. My career is open, my dear colleagues; receive me in your ranks with affectionate confidence. My conduct shall always be worthy of my name, and it shall prove to those who would exile me again, by their calumnies, that I wish, before all things, the defence of order, and the stability of the Republic.”

The sharp, quick ear of the Parisians detected that the accent of the orator was slightly Germanic. Both Socialists and Legitimists ridiculed him severely for this peculiarity in his pronunciation. Stories about the Prince had long been current relative to his future aspirations and designs. It was affirmed that during exile, when asked if he would be satisfied with the Presidency of the Republic, he did not answer evasively or shirkingly. His response they declared was a firm and emphatic “No; the Empire is my ambition.” His friends at that day declared this report unfounded; but, viewed through the light of the circumstances which have transpired in the last ten years in France, its truthfulness seems highly probable.

The election for the presidency was now rapidly approaching. His name with that of the stern, iron-nerved, patriotic

Cavaignac, Lamartine and those of half a dozen others, wild with Socialistic theories and red-hot with destructiveness, were put forward for the chief magistracy. Napoleon neither sought popularity nor did he spurn it. For fear he might be misrepresented, his motives maligned, his actions misconstrued, he remained quietly at the house of a friend during the pendency of the contest. His only public act was to issue an address to the people of France. His friends, however, circulated likenesses of him, and addresses appealing to the love of the French for the memory of his uncle.

It is useless to add that he was elected by an overwhelming majority. Victor Hugo a bitter enemy,—a man utterly destitute of a practical knowledge of life or government, but one who has made the world ring with approbation of his genius,—now a sad exile in a foreign land,—thus quaintly describes his appearance and bearing upon the day on which he was inaugurated President, (being the 20th of December, 1848:)

“It was about four in the afternoon. It was growing dark, and the immense hall of the Assembly having become involved in gloom, the chandeliers were lowered from the ceiling, and the candles were placed upon the tribune. The President made a sign; a door on the right opened, and there was seen to enter the hall and rapidly ascend the tribune, a man still young, attired in black, having on his breast the badge of the Legion of Honor. All eyes were turned towards this man. His face, wan and pallid, its long emaciated angles developed in prominent relief by the shaded lamps,—his nose large and long,—

his upper lip covered with mustachios,—a lock of hair waving over a narrow forehead,—his eyes small and dull,—his attitude timid and anxious, bearing in no respect a resemblance to the Emperor;—this man was the citizen Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.”

The oath was administered by the President of the Assembly, M. Marrast, under the most solemn and conscience-touching appeals to man and God to witness the holiness of the obligation which the new President assumed. How well he kept that oath let the *coup d'état* of December, 1851, testify.

There are two anecdotes recorded of him, about this time, which indicate forcibly two of the striking peculiarities of his character. When, after the affair of Strasbourg, Louis Philippe shipped him off to the United States he placed his person under the care of a French military officer of inferior grade whose name was Rebillot. That gentleman discharged the duties of his position with such marked delicacy that Napoleon never forgot it. Among the names of his first ministry occurs that of Col. Rebillot, as *Prefet de Police*.

His first great military review took place on the 24th of December. He took up his position at the entrance to the *Champs Elysées*. After the National Guards had filed past him, came on the troops of the line. At their head was a division of Invalides. The leader of this division was the veteran General Petit, one of the great Emperor's most faithful military servitors. The (then) President left his staff, rode forward to the war-worn soldier, and said warmly:

“General, the *Emperor* embraced you at his *last* review, I am happy to press your hand at *my first* review.”

Thus early, after his accession to power, he displayed his purpose of gaining the affections of the army, and his design of following closely in the footsteps of his uncle.

CHAPTER VIII.

LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT — THE DIFFICULTIES OF HIS POSITION — HOW HE QUELLED THE INSURRECTIONARY SPIRIT IN PARIS — VIOLATIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION — CONTEST WITH THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY — LEON FAUCHET — NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DISSOLVED — ITS SUCCESSOR — REPUBLICANISM IN PARIS IN 1851 — BOURBONS AND ORLEANISTS — PRESIDENT VERSUS THE ASSEMBLY — ST. ARNAUD — PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION — MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY — ITS DISPERSION — OUDINOT — BERRYER — THE COUP D' ETAT — LOUIS NAPOLEON'S ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY FOR TEN YEARS — ELEVATION TO THE EMPIRE — HIS MARRIAGE — CAROLA WASA OF SWEDEN — ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND — WAR WITH RUSSIA — THE EMPIRE — ATTEMPTS AT ASSASSINATION — PIANORI AND ORSINI.

WHEN Louis Napoleon became President he had but ascended the first round upon the ladder of his ambition. Slowly and prudently, and therefore strongly, he began to lay, broadly and deeply, his plans for his further elevation. His first effort, in which he was successful, was to conciliate the army and make it devoted to his fortunes.

It was true he had many a stormy element to encounter, had to pass all the quicksands and shoals of Parisian capriciousness; to set upon and subdue the boisterous, bloody Mountain; to bring Order out of the chaos of Revolution; to quiet the minds of the people of France, and reassure them that there was sufficient stability, conservatism and virtue in society to preserve it. He managed this so steadily as to elicit confidence, excite

hope, and rally around himself those who desired domestic peace, the preservation of property, and the protection of life. His name, amid all the wild tumults of his two years' Presidency, loomed up as a landmark of safety—a breakwater against the angry waves of discord—a symbol of future solidity and rest.

This consideration, more than aught else, reconciled the French nation to his frequent violations of the Constitution of 1848. This alone made them indifferent to the illegal suppression of the Clubs, and the restrictions which he was gradually drawing more closely around the freedom of the Press. He was now secure of the support of the middle classes of Paris, the *Bourgeoisie*, including the shop-keepers, manufacturers and others of the less prominent, but solid, portions of the community.

He had a hard struggle with the National Assembly, which was in existence at the time he was inducted into office. Leon Fauchet, a renegade Orleanist, introduced on the 31st of May, 1849, a *projet de loi*, for the abolition of universal suffrage. It obtained the assent and approval of this Assembly. Shortly afterwards a dissolution of that body took place. At this the President and the members of his Cabinet had long aimed. He desired to get rid of their clamorous debates; their impracticable theories; their constant incitations to insurrection; their oft-repeated thwarting of his purposes, and especially the heavy checks which their ceaseless free discussion of his measures placed upon his earnest desire to restore the Empire.

This National Assembly, however, was dissolved only

to be replaced by another, in which neither the Republicans nor Bonapartists had many friends. The Legitimists and Orleanists had a large majority. The President greatly preferred such an Assembly to the former. This one furnished merely intriguants, seeking to accomplish the restoration of rival branches of the Bourbon family. Proudhon, Raspail, and other lynx-eyed Republicans, were gone, never to return.

The truth is that Republicanism, as an operative, vital force, had lost its power in Paris. The only elements possessing influence in that gay capital toward the close of the autumn of 1851, at least within the walls of the National Assembly, were purely dynastic. Orleans was intriguing against Bourbon and Bonapartism, and Bourbon against Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon. Doubtless the President rejoiced that the contest had resolved itself into such clearly and sharply defined limits.

Both the dynastic influences were willing to unite their strength against him, in order to procure his displacement. Each would consent, after his removal, to trust to fortune or good management for the elevation of the particular branch of exiled royalty which was preferable, according to his own particular predilection. The President foresaw that this moral contest could not last long. It would reach a crisis where physical force must be interposed to settle the questions of difference. Accordingly he gave his confidence and imparted his plans to only four or five persons. Among these were De Morny, (supposed to be his illegitimate half brother,) Marshal Magnan, now commander of the army of Paris, Persigny, the present

French Ambassador at London, and General St. Arnaud, who died in the Crimea.

The plot was met by a stronger counter-plot. St. Arnaud wrote to his mother after midnight, or rather before day dawned, on the morning of December 2d, 1851.

“The insane, blind, factious Assembly will be dissolved. Paris will awaken in the morning, and the revolution will be accomplished. Some hundred arrests or so, the door of the Assembly closed, and all’s done. I am waiting for the Commander of the troops, to give him my last orders. Every thing is ready. The ministry is changed, and I form part of the new one. The whole course of action, and the regulation of the material force depend on me.”

These were words issuing in a moment of confidence from the heart and brain of one of the arch-conspirators.

Indeed, rumor, whether well or ill-founded, declares that Louis Napoleon felt so much relieved upon the announcement of his demise, that he expressed himself, contrary to his usual reserve, to his most select friends as gratified at the occurrence.

St. Arnaud was right. Fifty thousand of the best troops of France lined the streets of Paris as the dawn broke. Huge placards covered the walls, exhibiting, in large letters, a decree of the future Emperor. It dissolved the National Assembly — restored Universal Suffrage — called upon the French people to assemble, in an electoral capacity, between the 14th and the 21st of December — proclaimed martial law, and dissolved the Council of State. It was short, sharp, and decisive. In another proclamation the President sought to vindicate his motives and action.

Few of the people cared aught about this exposition of his conduct. They knew that the army was with him; that the old Generals had been removed; that young Generals, fresh from Africa, had been promoted, over the heads of their senior officers, to the highest commands.

Many of the members of the National Assembly came to their hall at the usual hour of meeting. The doors were closed, all attempts to go in by side entrances were opposed by armed soldiers. About three hundred of the members, acting in concert, went to the Hall of the *Maire* of the Tenth Arrondissement (ward or district) in a most clamorous and disorderly way. They voted the deposition of their Chief Magistrate. They conferred the command of the army upon General Oudinot, who is described by an eye-witness as "a little, bustling, fussy, mean-looking individual."

When the great lawyer, Berryer, — the renowned Parliamentary leader of the Legitimist Branch of the Bourbons, brought Oudinot forward to announce to the loiterers around the hall, that this man had received the appointment of Commander-in-Chief, yells of laughter and burst after burst of merriment saluted his ears. This man, the son of one of the great Napoleon's Generals, had permitted himself to be the tool of Louis Napoleon in overthrowing the Republicans at Rome. The Republicans of Paris could not forget this, and they could never forgive it. Hence Oudinot sacrificed his position both with the Republicans and the Emperor. He has since quietly dropped into the oblivion he so well deserved.

The members of the National Assembly were dispersed

by the soldiers of Louis Napoleon. Many arrests were made; some blood was shed in the streets of Paris, in order to consolidate the approaching Empire. The *coup d'état* was a *fait accompli*, and France and the world was surprised at the coolness, courage and suddenness, with which the overthrow of the French Republic had been consummated.

It was an undertaking which would have appalled an intellect of ordinary power. Now, for the first time, men began to realize the astounding force of character, the impenetrable reserve, the far-reaching sagacity of the President. He was no longer a dreamer, an enthusiast, a schemer, — but a man of the utmost hardness of will, of iron tenacity of purpose, of adamant fixedness: — all this tremendous strength and energy was inter-penetrated, directed and controlled by common sense, sound discretion and well-regulated judgement. It may be said that all these were used for the promotion of selfish views and ambitious ends. Even if the truth of this charge be admitted, and it cannot well be denied, it does not militate against the statement, that he is possessed of ability scarcely inferior in his capacity of a civil ruler to that of his great uncle.

He then submitted his claims to France for a re-election to the Presidency for ten years. As no one else was permitted to be a candidate, his election was a foregone conclusion. His uncle had played the same game with success, and why should *he* not repeat it? He knew the French nation well. His renewal of a melo-drama that had been put upon the stage with such a magnificent

effect, half a century before, with so great an artist in the leading character, he knew would "draw" prodigiously again. He knew that they liked striking contrasts, brilliant coincidences, and splendid parallels. The result was not miscalculated.

Scarcely had he been inducted into his second term of office when he began to shape and mould circumstances, so as to prepare the popular mind for the re-introduction of the Empire. Accordingly, during the summer and autumn of 1852, he made tours into several of the Departments, and upon his return his chief adherents declared that the people everywhere desired the restoration of the Empire. They submitted the question to the people, who registered the decree of the Imperial will; for his Court, his demonstrations, his power and influence, were Imperial in tone and display.

The Empire thus became a finality. The next thing was to give an heir to his throne, so as to consolidate his power. Before this he had formed the acquaintance of the Countess de Teba. She had created a favorable impression upon him. With all his affected devotion to the people, he had strongly hankered after a royal alliance. His negotiations for the hand of Carola Wasa of Sweden had failed. The royal line of Bernadotte, *parvenu* though it was, refused his offer of Imperial dignity.

Disgusted either with his failure or deeply enamored with Eugenie, his marriage with the latter was celebrated on the 29th of January, 1853, within a few weeks after the proclamation of the Empire. He had now reached a period when he had consolidated his purposes. The throne

of France,—the throne of Napoleon the Great,—the French people were at his feet; he had taken every precaution to secure the succession which prudence could suggest. His restless energies did not suffer him to lie supinely idle. There was an unsettled Eastern question relating to “the Holy Places.” Russia had put forward claims conflicting with those held by France. Besides, Russia had been largely instrumental in overthrowing the Napoleonic dynasty. Could he not repay her a portion of her indebtedness to his family? He knew that if his people were not employed abroad in some field of action, commensurate with their immense capacities, they might conspire at home. As the head of the State and fountain of authority, he would naturally be the object at which every conspirator would aim.

It was exceedingly opportune for him that Russia had determined to seize upon certain Provinces of the Turkish Empire. England, as the old friend and ally of Turkey, was induced to prevent this seizure, even at the risk of war. France was easily persuaded by her to join in this new crusade for the preservation of the balance of power in Europe. The French claims, relative to “the Holy Places,” were gracefully yielded, and the cause of “European safety against universal conquest” was put forward as the pretext of the Emperor for the formation of the Anglo-French alliance.

The contest in and around Sebastopol was protracted, obstinate, and bloody. No siege of modern times has occasioned such a display of engineering skill, bull-dog courage, and such a waste of human life. Here again

the sagacity of Napoleon was shown. He caused Russia to be attacked at a point of vital importance in her southward progress toward further dominion. He brought about the ruin of her best fleet, her strongest fortress, and vast magazines of military stores and ordnance. Sebastopol was distant from Moscow many hundred miles, and supplies of ammunition, provisions or men, could not reach it except after the longest and most expensive land transportation. Sebastopol was within a week's steaming of the Coast of France. Russia's exchequer was exhausted by the incalculable expenses incurred by such transportation, and it was more from this cause than from her defeats at Alma, Balaklava and Inkerman,—more than from the storming of the Mamelon, Malakoff and the Redan,—that the Czar was forced to sue for peace and submit. Russia may appear, for the nonce, to have forgotten it, because she hates England more bitterly than she hates France. Her day for retribution, however distant, will surely come. The Romanoffs neither forget nor pardon. Louis Napoleon, by the Crimean War, somewhat repaid to Russia the debt of gratitude his uncle owed to her from the campaign of 1812. It is fair to presume that he will square the account of the same distinguished personage with Austria ere this campaign closes.

Since the conclusion of peace with Russia, and up till the present war, he seems to have directed his attention particularly to the promotion of the commercial, manufacturing, agricultural and rail road interests of France. All the material interests of France have certainly made great progress under his auspices. He has spent vast portions

of the annual revenue of France in completing and equipping maritime fortresses, and in increasing and strengthening his navy.

There have been no attempts on part of his enemies, for years back, to make insurrectionary demonstrations against his government, either in the capital or Provinces. Those of a lower grade, who are the disciples and followers of the Louis Blanc-Proudhon-Cabet-Barbes-Blanqui school, have contented themselves with resorting to the more cowardly process of assassination. Pianori and Orsini have failed in their several attempts, and the "man of destiny" still lives; lives to head an army upon the plains where, and against the same enemies over whom, his uncle won such glorious victories.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FAMILY OF NAPOLEON III. — THE EMPRESS EUGENIE — HER ANCESTRY AND BIRTH — HER PERSONAL CHARMS — PECULIAR TRAITS OF CHARACTER — UNBLEMISHED REPUTATION — HER COURAGE — PRINCE JEROME HER CONFIDENTIAL COUNSELLOR — HIS MARRIAGE WITH MISS PATTERSON — HIS SON — HIS GRANDSON — DIVORCE — PRINCESS FREDRIKA CAROLINE OF WURTEMBERG — ELEVATION TO THE THRONE OF WESTPHALIA — OBTAINS MONEY FROM THE JEWS — QUARREL WITH NAPOLEON — ABANDONS HIS KINGDOM — WATERLOO — NAPOLEON'S EXILE — THE FATHER-IN-LAW OF JEROME — TITLE OF PRINCE MONTFORT — RESIDENCE IN FLORENCE — IN PARIS — MARSHAL OF FRANCE — PRINCE ROYAL — PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF REGENCY — PRINCE NAPOLEON — HIS BIRTH — EDUCATION — VISIT TO PARIS — MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY — QUARREL WITH LOUIS NAPOLEON — AMBASSADOR TO MADRID — DISMISSAL — SENATOR — MAJOR — GENERAL IN CRIMEA — ATTACK UPON THE PLAN OF THE WAR — EXPEDITION TO THE POLAR SEAS — HIS VILLA — UNFITNESS FOR MILITARY AFFAIRS — APPOINTMENT TO ALGIERS — HIS MARRIAGE — THE PRINCESS MATHILDE — HER BIRTH — CHARACTER IN EARLY LIFE — AFFIANCED TO THE PRESENT EMPEROR — HER MARRIAGE — PRINCE DEMIDOFF — SEPARATION — PRESIDES AT THE COURT OF LOUIS NAPOLEON — VICTOR EMANUEL'S PASSION — HER RESIDENCE — SONS OF LUCIEN AND JOSEPH — LUCIEN BONAPARTE — PIERRE BONAPARTE — SERVICE UNDER SANTANDER — CHARACTER — DESERTION — DEGRADATION — PRESENT RESIDENCE — JOACHIM MURAT — HIS CHARACTER — ASPIRATIONS TO THE THRONE OF NAPLES — ALBONI — THE SON OF JOACHIM MURAT.

EUGENIE, Empress of the French, is the daughter of the Count and Countess de Montijo. She was born May 5th, 1826, or according to some authorities in 1824. Her father died in 1823. Though she is a posthumous child

it is difficult to account for this discrepancy in dates! It is of no importance however, and it is perhaps better not to seek to investigate the mystery! Mme. de Montijo was the daughter of Mr. Fitzpatrick, English Consul at Malaga. Eugenie therefore unites in her person the advantages and characteristics of the English and Spanish races, whilst education has endowed her with all the graces and accomplishments of a French woman. That she is beautiful, fascinating, intellectual and agreeable, the simple fact of her marriage testifies. Louis Napoleon would scarcely have elevated to the throne a private gentlewoman if she had not possessed the most captivating qualities.

In Paris, in the year 1851, Mlle. de Montijo, who took the title of Countess de Teba, made a sensation—in Paris she became the fashion. Speaking several languages, the distinguished of all countries gathered round her—her beauty was delicate and fair, from her English ancestry, whilst her grace was all Spanish, and her wit all French. These made her one of the most remarkable women in the French capital, though her independence of character and her English habits imparted to her more liberty of action than the restraints imposed on French *demoiselles* allow, and therefore exposed her to remark. There is not one well authenticated adventure that can be told to her disadvantage. The Empress, besides her brilliant qualities, which make her the most lovely sovereign of Europe, is kind and generous; and in the few opportunities that have occurred to test her higher qualities, has displayed great courage and sense. Such, for instance, was her refusal to appropriate the enormous sum voted to her by the city

of Paris, for the purchase of diamonds. She dedicated it to the foundation of a charitable institution for the education of young girls belonging to the working classes. On the night of the desperate attempt to assassinate the Emperor, at the French opera, she was calm and firm, and showed at once her courage and her affection by throwing herself before the Emperor, so as to shield him, when the carriage door was suddenly opened by one whom she deemed an assassin. So that from the past, the Empress may be considered as fully competent to fulfil the important duties confided to her as Regent of France, during the absence of her husband, nor is it to be feared that, placed in emergencies such as was Marie Louise, she would act with the same weakness and unfaithfulness to her trust.

The confidential counsellor of the Empress, by order of the Emperor, is his only surviving uncle, Jerome, youngest brother of Napoleon I., and formerly King of Westphalia. Jerome began his career in the French navy. In 1803, being on a cruise, he put into New York, and going to Baltimore there married Miss Elizabeth Patterson. But Napoleon, who had sought princely alliances for himself and his brothers, highly disapproved of this marriage, and the young wife, though she sailed for Europe, was never allowed to put her foot on the French soil. She went to England, where she gave birth to a son, and her marriage having been dissolved, she afterwards returned to America, where her son married. Her grandson, a Lieutenant in the service of the United States, has since the establishment of the Empire gone to France, where he

was well received by the Emperor. He has entered the French service, and has been promoted to the rank of Major, and is now with the army in Italy, serving in the First Regiment of the *Chasseurs d'Afrique*. He was decorated by the Emperor, for his gallant conduct in the Crimea, with the cross of the Legion of Honor.

Though destined for the navy, Jerome's predilections were for the army; accordingly he was given the command of the Bavarian and Wurtemberg troops, with which he reduced the fortresses of Silesia, and was made a General of Division.

Jerome, who had been much attached to the young wife of his choice, for some time refused to listen to Napoleon's projects of matrimonial alliance; at length, however, he consented to a second marriage, with the Princess Fredrika Caroline, daughter of the King of Wurtemberg, a Princess whom he knew and for whom he had the highest esteem. Soon after his marriage he was made King of Westphalia. By an adroit negotiation he replenished his exhausted exchequer. He obtained a heavy loan from the Jews, giving as an equivalent for their money the right of free worship in his dominions, a privilege they much coveted, and of which they had been deprived.

In the disastrous campaign of Russia, the King of Westphalia incurred the displeasure of his brother the Emperor, and retired to his dominions until the battle of Leipsic, when he abandoned them and joined the Queen at Munich. Faithful, however, to the Emperor, he joined him at Waterloo, and distinguished himself by prodigies of valor. When all was lost, faithful still, he accompanied the Emperor to

Paris, and after the decision of the English Government to send him to St. Helena, Jerome entreated, but in vain, to be allowed to share his brother's exile. This being denied him, and the fortunes of his house lost, Jerome joined the ex-Queen, and they were allowed to reside near Venice, and some time after at Trieste, without molestation. His father-in-law, the King of Wurtemberg, conferred on him the title of Prince de Montfort, under which title he was known until the advent of the second Empire. He finally fixed his residence in Florence. Jerome had been too young to have opportunities of enriching himself like the other members of his family. The fall of the Empire found him poor, his chief resource being a pension which his wife received from her father, the King of Wurtemberg.

He lived in splendor in Florence. Here his three children were born, of whom only Mathilde and Napoleon survive. Here, in 1836, his wife, the Princess Fredrika, with whom he had lived in the greatest harmony and happiness, died. But a pension given him by his daughter, the Countess Demidoff, supplied the place of the income that died with the former wife. He continued to live in comfort and affluence until 1847, when he obtained permission from Louis Philippe to take up a temporary residence in Paris. Here gradually Jerome continued to rally around him (just as Louis Philippe had done at the Palais Royal with the elder Bourbons,) all the disaffected, and so to prepare partizans for his nephew. Although the revolution of 1848, which drove Louis Philippe from the throne, would have occurred from other causes, there is no doubt but that Jerome's judicious management had contributed

to inspire the multitude with a yearning towards the Bonaparte dynasty. His nephew, Louis Napoleon, recognized and rewarded his devotion by appointing him, in 1848, Governor of the Invalides, and Marshal of France.

In 1851, he was still further honored by being reinstated in his rights as a Prince of the royal blood; in recognition of which rights he was allowed a suitable establishment, and a separate civil list — the Palais Royal in Paris, and Meudon, and Villiers *le Bel*, being assigned as his residences. In the present organization of the Regency, Prince Jerome is President of the Council.

Prince Napoleon Joseph Charles, his son, known as Prince Napoleon, is, in default of the direct issue of the Emperor, heir to the throne of France. Born at Trieste in 1822, he began his education at Geneva, and then entered the military college of Wurtemberg, to the royal family of which Kingdom he was allied by the marriage of his father. Refusing to engage in a foreign service, considering himself a French Prince, he declined the military rank offered to him. His education being completed, he set off on a lengthy tour through Europe, sojourning for some time in Spain, during the time Espartero was in power. In 1845, he obtained permission to visit Paris, but his liberal and democratic principles, openly expressed, alarmed the Government, and he received an order to leave the French capital.

At the fall of Louis Philippe, Prince Napoleon placed himself at the disposal of the Provisional Government, and openly avowed his sympathies for the Republic. Being elected by Corsica to the *Assemblée Constituente*, he main-

tained the same principles, always voting with the Republican and Liberal party. In 1849, he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Madrid, but having left his post without leave, he received a severe reprimand, and was deprived of his functions. Irritated by this act of authority, he became still more embittered against the Government. But gradually, seeing the increasing power of his cousin, he subsided into an obstinate and dogged silence, till at length he withdrew from public life. Great coldness existed between the two cousins, still, when Louis Napoleon became Emperor, (Prince Napoleon being, by the course of nature, direct heir to the throne,) he was forced to take his position at Court. A reconciliation was effected, and Prince Napoleon took his appropriate place in the Senate, and received the grade of General of Division, though he had never seen active service.

During the Crimean war he served at Alma and Inkerman, but without distinguishing himself. He returned to Paris, and amused himself by writing a bitter and spirited attack upon the plan of the Crimean war, as sketched out by his cousin. This brochure was published at Brussels, and of course did not tend to increase the friendship between the cousins. Prince Napoleon is a ripe scholar, and is fond of the arts and sciences. He was appointed, in 1855, Imperial Commissioner at the *Exposition Universelle*.

In 1857, he undertook a voyage to the Polar seas, in the corvette *La Reine Hortense*. He wrote a book containing an account of every thing he saw and did during the voyage. In a scientific point of view it amounts to

nothing. He has built, to the great admiration of the Parisians, a Roman villa in the Champs Elysées; in which the distribution of the rooms and the furniture is entirely modelled on the classical descriptions which have come down to us of a Roman residence. In this villa the guests are served *à la Romaine*, and all the Roman customs are observed.

Prince Napoleon, though a man of intelligence, is entirely wanting in dignity of character. Above all, he is totally devoid of a love of military glory, and has neither the tact or talents for military command. Some have even gone so far as to think that courage was wanting. From this cause he is a constant object of ridicule to the French people. In order to distinguish him from the Emperor, and at once to characterize his unstable and trivial character the *vox populi* has surnamed him "Plou, Plou!" a sort of childish diminutive of the name of Napoleon.

In 1858, he was appointed to the Government of Algiers, but declined to accept the appointment, imagining, probably the truth, that Louis Napoleon was desirous of getting rid of him. He married, in 1859, the Princess Clothilde, daughter of the King of Sardinia; an alliance which was almost immediately followed by the declaration of war with Austria. Prince Napoleon will, no doubt, be the King of one of the new divisions, if any are carved out in Italy. He is at present Commander of the 5th Corps d'Armée of the French army in Italy. His headquarters are at Genoa.

The Princess Mathilde, sister of the Prince and daughter

of Jerome, was born at Trieste, 1820. She was educated principally in Florence, and was renowned for beauty, refinement of manner, and accomplishments. She was devoted to her father, and her conduct as a daughter and a woman, previous to her marriage, is spoken of by all in the highest strains of eulogium. A great many of the exiled Bonaparte family had settled in Florence, and there, after the reconciliation of Hortense and Louis, Mathilde was thrown into a constant companionship with her cousin, the present Emperor of France. There is no doubt that a juvenile but profound attachment existed between them, and that, with the approbation of their families, they were affianced to each other. But Louis Napoleon's political career separated them; nor was he, with the ambitious views he evidently entertained, then in a position to marry. He, however, frequently refers to her in his private letters during his wandering life, with affection and regret. As far as can be judged by appearances, Mathilde was faithful to him, and did not abandon the hope of becoming his wife until after he was imprisoned in Ham.

She then, in 1841, being twenty-six, became the wife of Prince Demidoff. Much as the motive has been hackneyed in novels and plays, there is but little doubt after all that Mathilde married for her *father's* sake. They were poor, and dependent on relations since the death of her mother, the Princess of Wurtemberg. The proof that her father's welfare was one of the great inducements to this union lies in the fact, that she stipulated that Prince Demidoff should pay her father a handsome annuity. This annuity was only declined when Jerome became, at the

beginning of the second Empire, Governor of the Invalides. The Princess' marriage was not a happy one. The secrets of its discords are not known. Probably there were faults on both sides. Prince Anatole Demidoff is, however, undeniably, although a great scholar, a man of peculiar and eccentric habits.

Before the marriage of the Emperor, the Princess Mathilde did the honors of the Court, and proved that she was fully adequate for the high position she occupied. Much has been said about her gallantries and her *liaisons*, but scandal has never attached to them any individual name.

The King of Sardinia was excessively smitten with the Princess Mathilde during his visit to Paris, and encouraged by the reports of her coqueties, is said to have made such boisterous declarations of his admiration that a royal hint made him curtail his visit. The Princess resides chiefly at St. Gratien, a charming residence about ten miles from Paris, situated on the lake d'Enghein in the vicinity of Montmorency.

The rest of the Bonaparte family, (not the *Imperial*,) consists of the descendants of Joseph and Lucien, brothers of Napoleon. Those who have entered political life are the children of Lucien, and brothers of the Prince of Canino. Lucien Bonaparte, another of the Prince of Canino's sons, was a member of the *Assemblée Constituente*. He sustained his cousin's views, and after the establishment of the Empire received the title of Prince of the blood; though not considered as belonging to the branch

called the Imperial, Lucien, the brother of Napoleon, having repudiated all allegiance to the first Emperor.

Pierre Bonaparte, third son of Prince Canino, is in person the most like his illustrious uncle of all the Bonaparte family. In 1832, he joined his uncle Joseph in the United States, and took service under General Santander in South America. On his return to Italy he opposed the Papal Government, and was imprisoned at San Angelo. Recovering his liberty he proceeded to London, after trying to raise a revolt in Albania. He had, *en route*, offered his services to Mehemet Ali, who declined them.

Eighteen hundred and forty-eight found him at the rallying point of the Bonapartists, that is, Paris. He was elected to the *Assemblée Constituente*, and took his seat on the extreme left. His violence, however, elicited frequently the anger of his opponents, and at the same time destroyed the confidence of his own party in him. He opposed the *coup d'état*, which, of course, since the Empire was declared, has placed him in a difficult position with regard to the Emperor.

Impulsive and giddy, he gave proof of insubordination in abandoning his post at the siege of Zaatcha, or in other words, deserting just before the assault. M. de Hautpoul, then Minister of War, degraded him from his rank; a measure in which he was sustained by the *Assemblée*. After these escapades, when the Empire was proclaimed, M. Pierre Bonaparte retired from public life, for which he is not at all fitted. He now devotes himself to field sports in the Island of Corsica. He chiefly resides there. Pierre Bonaparte is not wanting in personal courage. He would

make a good leader in an émeute, or in a hand to hand fight. He is totally restive under discipline, and knows no subordination either civil or military. His Italian sympathies are democratic and lead him into as violent opposition to the Royal Liberators of Italy as he has to its present oppressors.

Besides these members of the Bonaparte family, there is a son of Napoleon's sister Caroline, born in 1803, and of Murat, former King of Naples. His name is Joachim. After the death of his father and the fall of the Empire, he continued to reside in Italy till 1824, when he embarked for the United States. In 1827, he married Miss Caroline Fraser and met many vicissitudes of fortune. For some years he lived in great poverty, his only resources consisting in what he obtained from a school kept by his wife. On hearing tidings of the revolution of 1848, Murat hastened to Europe, and was elected a member of the *Assemblée Constituente*, and in 1849, was sent as Minister to Turin. After the coup d'état the title of Prince of the Royal Blood was conferred on him. He is a man of fine character and considerable intellect. He is most irreproachable in the relations of private life.

In 1855, an Italian Liberal Party proposed to place Prince Murat on the throne of Naples, but Murat, in a letter to the Italian patriot, his brother-in-law, Count Pepoli, declares "his intention of never striving to obtain the throne by stratagem or force. If it comes, it must come by the will of the People." As this has not yet manifested itself, the Prince continues to reside in Paris. By a singular coincidence Mlle. Alboni, the great singer, is

allied by marriage to this part of the Bonaparte family,—
Letitia Murat, daughter of the ex-King of Naples and herself having married brothers, the Marquis and the Count Pepoli of Bologna.

Prince Murat's eldest son was born in 1831, and is Lieutenant in the Regiment des Guides. Princè Murat has several other children.

CHAPTER X.

COMMANDING OFFICERS UNDER NAPOLEON—COUNT BARAGUAY D'HILLIERS—
BIRTH—EDUCATION—FIRST MILITARY SERVICE—MILITARY EXPLOITS
—POLITICAL OPINIONS—CHARACTER—COUNT RANDON—GEN'L MAR-
CHAND AND NAPOLEON I.—ALGIERS—MILITARY TALENTS AND CHAR-
ACTER—GEN'L ADOLPHE NEIL—BRILLIANT CAREER—CHARACTER—
GEN'L CANROBERT—CONSTANTINE AND AFRICAN CAMPAIGN—AID-DE-
CAMP TO THE EMPEROR—CANROBERT AND ST. ARNAUD—PRINCE NAPO-
LEON—THE CRIMEA—HIS CHARACTER AND CAPACITY—MC'MAHON—
ORIGIN—CONSTANTINE—THE REDAN—CHARACTER AND CAPACITY—
MARSHAL VALLIANT—BIRTH—EXPLOITS—SERVICES IN ALGIERS—ROME
—CHARACTER AND CAPACITY—PELISSIER—BIRTH—EXPLOITS—AL-
GIERS—CRIMEA—CHARACTER AND CAPACITY—GEN'L FOREY—ALGIERS
—CRIMEA—CAREER—CAPACITY.

THERE is scarcely any part of a historical book read with as much avidity as those chapters which contain biographies of prominent military leaders. This proclivity of the general reader arises from the fact that around the military operations centre all the interest and all the intensity of feeling which are begotten by every great war; for it is by these operations the result of the war is determined. Each great commander is a prominent actor in the arena. In proportion to what he achieves is the interest felt in him. Should he win half a dozen different battles over separate and different armies he rises into first-rate importance. If he is the leader in some terrible onslaught, in which a celebrated fortress is taken, or

of some brilliant cavalry charge by which a great victory is achieved, he is ever an object of immense public attention and eulogium. Each act of his past career, the most trifling incidents of his life, are sought after and read with interest and curiosity.

This new war will naturally develope new men, or at least place those who are known more prominently before the world than they have heretofore been. Many, in various grades of commands, when the war broke out, will necessarily be prominent in the first great movements, and their history is already of surpassing interest.

The first series of Commanders in natural order would be the French. There are present with the Emperor in Italy four Commanders of *Corps d'Armée*, as well as Marshal Vaillant, who have already won distinction upon other fields of action. There must be added the name of the Duke of Malakoff, though he is Commander-in-Chief of the army of observation upon the Rhine.

The first in order, is Achille Count Baraguay d'Hilliers, Commander of the first *Corps d'Armée* of the army in Italy. He was born at Paris, on the 6th of September, 1795. He is the son of General Louis Baraguay d'Hilliers, who was born in 1764, and died in 1813, at Berlin, just after the close of the Russian Campaign, it is said, of a broken heart in consequence of his having excited the anger of Napoleon I. He served his country well, whether she was governed by a King, a Directory, a Consulate or an Emperor.

His son now in Italy, was a soldier from infancy, and may almost be said to have been born and bred amid the din and clangor of arms. He was appointed a Sub-

Lieutenant in a troop of horse in 1812. At the battle of Leipsic he lost his left arm. In consequence of this, he was called by the Arabs, "Bou Dra,"—the father of the one arm. He became Captain in 1815. Having joined the party of the Restoration, or, in other words, having identified himself with the cause of Louis XVIII., he became involved in several political duels. In 1827 he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, and was in the expeditionary force despatched against Algiers in 1830. For his services at the siege of that city he was made Colonel.

In 1832 he was attached to the Military School of St. Cyr, as second in command. Whilst there, he suppressed a Republican movement among the students, and thereby obtained the confidence of Louis Philippe's Government. Shortly after he acquired the rank of Marshal of the Camp, and assumed the chief command of the School. At this post he continued until the end of 1840. In the following year he was placed at the disposal of the Governor-General of Algiers. He assisted in several expeditions against the Arabs.

The Duke d'Aumale, fourth son of Louis Philippe, served under him in Africa. He attests the bravery of the Prince in his report upon the fall of Thaza. In August, 1843, he attained the rank of Lieutenant-General. In 1844 he appears to have fallen somewhat into disgrace with the King, for he was placed upon half-pay.

D'Hilliers was Inspector-General of infantry in the French Army, from 1847 to the revolutionary outbreak of the following year. The Provisional Government confided to him the command of the military division of Be-

sançon. His opposition to the wild theories and crude ideas of Ledru Rollin procured for him an election to the Constituent Assembly, from the Department of Doubs. During the disturbances at Paris, on the 15th of May, 1848, he offered his services to the Executive Commission, but, until the insurrection of June, he did not accept the command offered to him by General Cavaignac.

In the Assembly, he voted generally with the Right or Conservative section. Occasionally he voted with the Mountain. One of his votes, against the resolution of thanks to General Cavaignac for his conduct in the suppression of the June rebellion, excited a great deal of attention at that time.

After the election of the 10th of December, 1848, d'Hilliers associated himself with all the repressive measures which were taken by Rebillot, the Chief of Police, against the Press and the Clubs. He was again elected by the Department of Doubs to the Legislative Assembly. In that body his politics were that of the Elysée—intensely Napoleonic.

He was sent to Rome in 1849 to replace d'Hautpoul, and took measures to confirm the authority of the Pope. Upon his return to France, in 1857, he was named to the command of the Army of Paris, in place of General Changarnier. This change of commanders provoked a vote of a want of confidence, on part of the Assembly, toward the Minister Baroche. In this resolution, however, they expressed the utmost respect for Count d'Hilliers. Six months afterwards he resigned his temporary command, on account of the law making the performance of such duties incompatible with a seat in the Assembly.

He favored the *coup d'état*, and was in consequence named member of the Consultative Commission. When war broke out between the Allied Powers and Russia, he was appointed to head the expeditionary corps ordered by Louis Napoleon to the Baltic, to coöperate with Sir Charles Napier's fleet. He reduced the fortress of Bomarsund. This success procured him a Marshal's baton, and therefore admission into the French Senate. He was one of the four Vice-Presidents of that body. On the 11th of December, 1850, the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor was conferred upon him.

He is now sixty-four years of age. He seems rather to be regarded as a stern, war-worn soldier, not gifted with much strategical skill, but cool and cautious, and endowed with all the qualities of a hard fighter.

The next upon the list of prominent French commanders in Italy is Count Jacques Randon, Marshal of France. He was born at Grenoble, on the 25th of March, 1795, and is a nephew of General Marchand, who was Military Commandant at Grenoble when Napoleon reached that city, on his way from Elba to Paris, in 1815, and was accused of having yielded too readily to the Emperor. He had been attached to him by honors conferred, by long service and association, and had no love for the Bourbons. It was, therefore, scarcely possible for him to resist the appeal made to him by his old and renowned leader.

Marshal Randon early began his military career. He served with the Grand Army in the campaign in Russia, in Saxony, and in France, in 1813. He was made sub-Lieutenant of infantry after the great battle of Borodino,

fought under the walls of Moscow. During the campaign of 1813, he was promoted, in rapid succession, to a First-Lieutenancy and Captaincy. He received two balls at the battle of Lutzen.

He took a leading part in the Hundred Days. His devotion to the fortunes of the Emperor prejudiced his advancement with the Bourbons. But the Government of July repaired the neglect of the Restoration toward him. In 1830 he was made *Chef d'Escadron* of the 30th regiment of Chasseurs. In 1838, he attained a Colonelcy in the well-known Chasseurs d'Afrique.

For ten years he took a leading part in all the principal expeditions against the Arabs. In 1841, he obtained the title of Marshal of the Camp, by brevet, and in 1847 that of Lieutenant-General. His conspicuous gallantry in the field, and the kindness of the Orleans Princes, contributed to this unusually rapid advancement.

He was acting Governor-General of Algiers under the Provisional Government of 1848. In June of that year he was appointed to the command of the third military division then stationed at Metz. He was called to take charge of the port-folio of war in January, 1851, and held office until the following October. Soon after the dispersion of the National Assembly, and the assumption of absolute power by Napoleon, he was appointed to the Government of Algiers, and served in that capacity until the reorganization of that Colony in 1858. The last expedition against the Kabyles, in 1857, was directed by him. They were forced into complete submission.

In 1852 he was elevated to the Senatorship; having

been made a grand officer of "The Legion of Honor" two years before. It was not until 1856 that he attained the rank of Marshal of France. He is said to have been greatly gratified at the conferment of this last title. He has ever been a devoted Bonapartist. He is regarded as a brave and skillful officer. His strategic qualities are regarded by military men as being of a higher order than those of Count d'Hilliers.

Next is General Adolphe Niel, born 1802. Some allege that he was born in Ireland. It is most probable that he was born in France, and, as his name indicates, is of Irish extraction. In 1821 he was admitted into the Polytechnic School, and two years after to the School of Practice at Metz. He attained a Lieutenancy in the corps of engineers in 1827, and in 1835 a Captaincy. During the following year he took part in the siege of Constantine, where he particularly distinguished himself. For this service he reached the rank of a *Chef de Battalion*, and obtained the congratulations of the Minister of War. Ever since, he has been regarded as one of the most brilliant officers in the French Army. In 1846 he became Colonel. He was attached, in 1849, to the Expedition against Rome as Chief of the Staff of Engineers. There he rendered such services that within two months after the siege began, he was first named a General of Brigade, and soon after a General of Division.

When war was declared against Russia, General Neil accompanied General d'Hilliers as Chief of Engineers in his expedition to the Baltic. At the siege of Bomarsund he acquired additional renown, and was appointed Aid-de-

camp to the Emperor. He afterwards visited the Crimea to obtain minute information concerning the progress of the siege, and the state of the army. His advice was, to invest Sebastopol completely on all sides, and to assault it from the side of the Malakoff. He then took command of the corps of Engineers, a post he ought to have been sent to three months sooner. Thus, in reality, he not only had a large share in directing the operations of the Allied Army, but suggested the line of action which was eventually successful. His immediate reward was a Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor. There is no doubt that he will achieve for himself a magnificent reputation, should the present war continue long.

We now reach General François Certain Canrobert. He was born in 1809, of a good family, in Brittany. His patrimony is limited, amounting to only 5,000 francs per year. In 1826 he entered the military school of St. Cyr, and having distinguished himself there, he entered the army as a private soldier, and was made a sub-Lieutenant in the 47th Regiment of the line, in 1828. He became a Lieutenant in 1832, and three years afterwards went to Algiers. Immediately after he arrived he joined the famous expedition against the Mascara. He took part, successively, in the storming of Heman, and in the battles with Sidi Yacoub at Taffna and Sikkak. He was commissioned as a Captain in 1837.

At the siege of Constantine he received a wound in the knee. Col. Combes, a brave and gallant officer, fell at his side, whilst they were both fighting in the breach. The dying Frenchman exclaimed to Marshal Vallée "That officer [Canrobert] has a grand future before him."

Soon after, he received the decoration of the Legion of Honor. In 1839 he returned to France, and was directed to form the wreck of the Carlist bands into a battalion for the Foreign Legion. Upon his return to Algiers, in 1841, he became distinguished for the great coolness and active energy displayed by him in the many adventurous expeditions which were under his especial command. One of the most notable of these was the one into the gorges of the Mouzaïa Mountains. Here his successes over the Arabs were very decided. About this time he reached the command of a regiment of *chasseurs à pied*.

At the head of the 64th Régiment of the line, he defeated the rebellion which Bou Maza had incited among the tribes of the Lower Dhara. After a bloody and obstinate struggle of eight months duration, he obtained a Coloneley. Whilst holding this rank he commanded the expedition Ahmed Sghir. He advanced to the defile of Djerma where the enemy was entrenched; he gave them battle, defeated them, and took two Sheiks prisoners. After having commanded the Second Regiment of the Foreign Legion, he was transferred to the Third Zouaves. At the head of these, he won new honors against the Kabyles and the tribes of the Jurjura. Leaving Aumale in November, 1849, he raised the blockade of Bou Sada, collected the greater part of his corps before Zatacha, and was among the foremost in the assault upon that city. This brilliant series of actions procured for him the Cross of a Commander of the Legion of Honor.

In 1850, he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General. At the commencement of that year, he led an

expedition against Zarah. The Arabs here, eagle-like, had their nest among the rocks. They had built villages upon heights accessible only by narrow paths overhanging fearful precipices, and from their abodes descended, upon every inviting occasion, to harass the French and plunder the country below—relying upon their retreat as safe, no matter what reverses they met with. Canrobert advanced three columns to attack the enemy in their retreat, and so skillfully combined their fire that in seven hours the Arab stronghold was reduced.

Canrobert went to Paris in 1850, where he was made Aid-de-camp to Louis Napoleon, and entrusted with a command in the city. He exerted himself most energetically in suppressing the insurrection which followed the *coup d'état*. He was entrusted with general powers to examine into the condition of the political prisoners. In 1853, he was created a General of Division.

Upon the declaration of war against Russia, he was appointed to command the First *Corps d'Armée*. His division was frightfully decimated by cholera, during its stay in the Dobrudscha. His troops took part in the battle of Alma, and he himself was wounded by a splinter of a shell which struck him on the breast and hand, but the post of honor had been assigned by Marshal St. Arnaud to Bosquet. The Marshal resigned his command six days after the first battle of the Crimea. Prince Napoleon thus describes the circumstances under which the command of the army was transferred to Canrobert.

“Marshal St. Arnaud summoned the Generals of Division and Brigades, and endeavored to make them a last

address, but his feebleness did not permit him to proceed. He however made a final effort, and said that he thought he should not be departing from the wishes of the Emperor in assigning the command to the General who appeared to have been designated by the unanimous voice of the army. 'I have selected General Canrobert,' said he, 'to replace me, pending the confirmation of the appointment by his majesty.' The Marshal made a sign with his hand to General Martinprey, who advanced to General Canrobert and presented him the paper containing his provisional commission. Instead of taking the paper, Gen. Canrobert drew from his pocket a letter bearing the arms of the Emperor. Marshal St. Arnaud opened his eyes, but expressed no surprise, his head fell back on his pillow, and he uttered faintly these words, 'It is well.'"

On the 5th of November, at Inkerman, Canrobert, although Commander-in-Chief, was again in the thickest of the fight, and whilst heading the impetuous charges of the Zouaves was slightly wounded, and had a horse killed under him. General Canrobert was a great favorite in both the English and French armies; his soldiers much admire his cheerfulness, activity and enthusiasm in battle. He was only responsible in a secondary degree for the conduct of affairs before Sebastopol. The command fell into the hands of Marshal Pelissier, owing to a dispute between Canrobert and Lord Raglan. Two months after this misunderstanding he quitted the Crimea. He was created a Marshal of France at the same time that MM. Bosquet and Randon received the same honor. He became as a matter of right, through his new dignity, a

Senator. He obtained the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, May 20th, 1855. He is regarded, by military men, as possessing fine strategic capacities. He is chary of his men, and therefore sparing of their blood. He is endowed with the very greatest personal courage in action, but prudent and cautious in determining his attacks.

Marie Edme Patrice Maurice McMahon is descended from an ancient Catholic Irish family, which risked all for the Stuarts, and after the expulsion of that unfortunate family from the English throne were forced to go into exile. They took refuge in France. General McMahon was born at Autun, in the Department of Saone et Loire, in 1807. One of his ancestors had, by marriage, acquired the splendid castle and extensive estates of Sully. His father, a personal friend of Charles X., was a Peer of France. He married a daughter of the ducal House of Caraman.

General McMahon is the youngest child, and entered the school of St. Cyr in 1825. He saw his first service in the Algerian Expedition of 1830. He acted as Aid-de-camp to General Achard, at the siege of Antwerp, in 1832. He became a Captain in 1833. He went again to Algiers during the last named year, remained there for a considerable time, and performed many brilliant actions. In 1837 he particularly distinguished himself during the assault upon Constantine. For awhile he commanded a Regiment of Foot Chasseurs and a Regiment of the Foreign Legion. He was appointed a Colonel in 1845, and rose to the rank of General of Brigade in 1848. Whilst he held the latter rank, he administered with

marked ability the affairs, first, of the Province of Oran, and afterwards, of the Province of Constantine. In 1852, he was made General of Division.

He was living in Paris, on half-pay, in 1855, when General Canrobert resigned the chief command in the Crimea. On Canrobert's return, General McMahon was ordered to the command of his Division, and had the perilous honor of conducting the assault upon the Redan-Malakoff, on the 8th of September. How well he acquitted himself is known by the result. A cotemporary gives the following account of that terrific assault.

“‘Soldiers of the First Division of Zouaves of the Guard,’ said the gallant warrior, inspired by the prescience of victory, ‘you are at last about to quit your trenches, to attack the enemy hand to hand. On this decisive day, our General has confided to you that most important task, the taking of the Malakoff-Redan—the key of Sebastopol. Soldiers! the entire army has its eyes upon you, and your colors planted upon the ramparts of that citadel will be the signal for the general assault. Your bravery is a guarantee that success will immortalize many in your regiments. In a few hours, the Emperor will tell France what the soldiers of Alma and Inkerman can do. I will give the signal by the cry of ‘Vive l’Empereur.’ Our rallying word shall be, ‘Honneur et Patrie.’”

“Electrified by this spirit-stirring address, the soldiers sprang forward with that heroic bravery characteristic of their nation, and after unexampled difficulties, and most exciting foot-to-foot combat, succeeded in effecting a lodgment in the anterior part of the Malakoff. The enemy shower-

ed down a storm of projectiles of all kinds upon the assailants, but the brave Bosquet supported them with his Guards; and Pelissier, standing on the Mamelon, with his military reputation trembling in the balance, exercised all his characteristic energy in pushing forward the reserves; convinced that the fall of the Malakoff would be decisive of success, he directed his whole attention to retaining possession of the grand prize. Matters were indeed somewhat critical; but resolution and courage overcame all difficulties. Bosquet was struck by the bursting of a shell. Another General took his command. A powder-magazine exploded; and the Russians hoping to profit by this accident immediately advanced in dense masses, and disposed in three columns, simultaneously attacked the centre, left and right of the Malakoff. But measures of defence had been already taken in the interior, and General McMahon opposed to the enemy bodies of troops whom nothing could intimidate. After the most desperate efforts the Russians were compelled to make a precipitate retreat; General McMahon remained master of the Malakoff, and the tri-colored flag waved in triumph from its battlements."

The Grand Cross of the "Legion of Honor," and the dignity of the Senatorship, were rewards of this glorious deed in arms. He is destined to rise to still higher honors in Italy. He is perhaps the most brilliant General in the French Army.

Jean Baptiste Philibert, Count Vaillant, was born at Dijon, on the 6th of December, 1790, educated in the Ecole Polytechnic, and served in the campaigns of Italy.

After distinguishing himself by extraordinary deeds of valor and patient endurance in the disastrous campaign of Russia, he was taken prisoner by the Russians, and kept in captivity until 1814, when he returned to France and resumed his rank in the army, and again distinguished himself at Ligny and Waterloo. During the first years of the Restoration, he employed his time in translating a work from the English Language, entitled "Principles for the Construction of Military Passes and Bridges." The expedition to Algiers in 1830 was the first opportunity that occurred for the exercise of his military genius. It was he who directed the works of the *Fort l'Empereur*, which forced the Dey to capitulate. During this campaign his leg was broken by the explosion of a bomb-shell. He returned to France and was made a Lieutenant Colonel. In 1833, he gained fresh glory at the siege of Antwerp, and received the rank of full Colonel as well as the order of Leopold. In 1834, being sent to Algiers in command of a regiment of Engineers, he covered the country with fortifications, which considerably forwarded the military operations in that country. On his return to France, in 1839, he was appointed Commander of the Polytechnic School, and in 1840 had charge of a portion of the fortifications of Paris. Promoted in 1845 to the rank of Lieutenant-General, Count Vaillant took part in all the Military Councils for the protection of the French territory. In Rome he was second in command, in 1849, and by his judgment and skill contrived to repair all the faults that had been committed and was mainly instrumental in the taking of the

town. In 1851, the baton of Marshal and the title of Count conferred upon him, sufficiently attest the estimate set upon his services in this campaign. His rank entitled him to a seat in the Senate; the Emperor also made him Grand Marshal du Palais. In 1854, when Marshal Arnaud left for the Crimea, Marshal Vaillant, succeeded him as Minister of War. Marshal Vaillant is, of all the French Generals, the man of the greatest experience, knowledge, and capacity, as a strategist and commander. The Emperor has implicit confidence in him and the soldiers a sort of idolatry for his past exploits, his present spirit and indomitable courage.

He accompanied Napoleon to Italy, and doubtless occupies the position of confidential military counsellor. It has been intimated more than once since the war began, that the general plan for the campaign has been sketched out by Count Vaillant, and if any changes are made in it, they will be made under the urgent force of events yet to transpire. There probably is truth in this intimation. It is said that the operations in the Crimea were conducted according to his suggestions. He on one side, and General Hess on the other, appear destined to play the leading parts in the present terrible drama. Theirs will be the quiet, invisible spirits directing and controlling the whole machinery of war, whilst whatever of glory or disgrace occurs to either army, will be shared by the two Emperors.

Amiable Jean Jacques Pelissier, Marshal-Duke of Malakoff, was born at Maromme, near Rouen, on the 5th of November, 1794. Pelissier commenced his career as a student in the Military School of *La Fleche*, where he

remained about two months, and then joined the *Ecole Militaire* of St. Cyr. On the 18th of March, 1815, two days before Napoleon entered Paris on his return from Elba, Pelissier received an appointment which attached him to the King's (Louis XVIII.,) household. He joined the army on the Rhine, but the troops having been disbanded, he joined the Legion of the Lower Seine. In 1819 he was attached to the regiment known as the "Hussars de la Meurthe;" and in August, 1820, was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. He served in the 35th Regiment, in which his brother held the rank of Captain. Pelissier made the Campaign of 1823, in Spain, as Aid-de-camp to General Grundler. In 1823 he was decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honor, and during the same year received the Order of St. Ferdinand of Spain.

In 1828 Pelissier obtained the rank of Captain. In 1829 he served in Greece as Aid-de-camp to General Durrieu, and for his brilliant conduct at the siege of the Castle of the Morel, was made Chevalier of St. Louis. In 1830 he joined the expedition to Algiers, and in the autumn of the same year returned to France, and served under General Pelot at the siege of Antwerp.

It was in 1839 that Pelissier, being then Lieutenant-Colonel, began his career in the field, which is associated with his great military renown. He was made Chief of the Staff of the Third Division in Algiers, under General Schramm.

In November, 1845, the name of Pelissier acquired celebrity in connection with an event which has given rise

to various opinions, was largely discussed and generally regretted. The Arab Bou Maza proclaimed the Holy War of the Dahara. He styled himself "the invulnerable," and persuaded the Kabyles into a firm belief in his divine commission. There was a general insurrection. Marshal Bugeaud, then Governor-General of Algiers, feeling the necessity of crushing out this rebellion at once, ere it had gathered head, and assumed formidable proportions, took prompt and vigorous measures. The part which Pelissier bore in it, is thus graphically told by a French writer of that day:—

"There has just occurred one of those terrible events which deeply afflict all who witness them, even when convinced of their frightful necessity, and when they are justified in declaring that everything possible was done to prevent the catastrophe. It is known that the corps commanded by Colonel Pelissier, St. Arnaud, and De l'Admirault, have been carrying on combined operations in the West. Colonel Pelissier was busy in pursuing the Ouled Riàhs, who have never yet submitted, as they live in immense caverns, which it would be madness for the troops to penetrate. On the 18th of June, finding themselves closely pursued, they fled to their usual place of refuge. Having surrounded the cavern, some fagots were lighted, and thrown by the French troops before the entrance. After this demonstration, which was made to convince the Arabs that the French had the power, if they wished, of suffocating them in their hiding-places, the Colonel threw in letters offering them life and liberty if they would surrender with their horses. At first they refused, but after-

wards they consented if the French troops would withdraw. This condition was considered inadmissible, and more fagots were thrown in. A great tumult arose, and it was known afterwards that it arose from a discussion as to whether they would surrender or not.

“The party opposed to surrender carried their point, and a few of the minority escaped. Colonel Pelissier, wishing to spare the lives of those who remained, sent to them some Arabs to exhort them to surrender. They refused; and some women, who did not partake of the savage fanaticism of the majority, attempted to fly; but their husbands and relatives fired upon them to prevent their escape from the martyrdom which they were themselves prepared to suffer. Colonel Pelissier then suspended the throwing of burning fagots and sent a French officer to parley with Ouled Riàhs. His messenger was received with a discharge of fire-arms. This state of things continued until the night of the 19th, when, losing all patience, and no longer having any hope of subduing these fanatics, who formed a perpetual nucleus of revolt in the country, the fire was renewed, and rendered intense. During this time the cries of the unhappy wretches who were undergoing suffocation were dreadful, and then nothing was heard but the crackling of the fagots. The silence was fearfully ominous.

“The troops entered, and found 500 dead bodies. About 150 Arabs, who still breathed, were brought out into the open air, but a portion of them died soon afterwards. Let all who read this reflect, that none but those who, like ourselves, are upon the spot can judge of the efforts made

to arrest this catastrophe, or comprehend how great was the necessity of reducing these people for the sake of the general tranquility."

The transaction was no sooner known in Paris than regret and indignation found universal expression. The Opposition party in the Chambers, the Senate, and the Press, were loud in reprobating a proceeding which they declared had degraded France in the eyes of the civilized world. Marshal Soult, on behalf of the Government, declared he exceedingly regretted and strongly disapproved of what had been done, and had written to that effect to the Governor-General of Algeria. Marshal Bugeaud was not deterred by this language from justifying the deed, and taking upon himself the responsibility. The *Moniteur Algerien*, of July 22d, 1845, contained an article in which it was asserted "that the deed of June 19th was not only a military necessity, but an act of general humanity; that having pursued the Arabs to the grotto, Colonel Pelissier had no choice but to reduce them to submission, or to confirm the belief of the natives in the security of those retreats, and thus indefinitely postpone the war; that the delay of a blockade would have endangered the success of the operation in which the columns of St. Arnaud and l'Admirault were equally engaged with that of Pelissier; and that a conflict in the interior of the cave would have rendered certain as great a loss of life as that which took place against the intentions of the French."

Finally, and this is what most concerns us here, it was declared on the 19th of June, "Colonel Pelissier

only carried out the positive orders of the Governor-General and Commander in Chief."

In the following year Pelissier became Marshal of the Camp. In 1848, General Cavaignac appointed him Commandant of the Division of Oran, and he remained seven years in this rank. He served in Algeria fifteen years consecutively, and took part in every important military operation executed during that period.

It is narrated of him, that on one occasion, holding the position of *Chef de Battalion* in a command of a punishment corps, the Zephyrs, he attacked a mud fortress, occupied by Arabs. His men in vain attempted to scale the walls. The Arabs kept a good look-out, and repulsed every assault. Pelissier at length said to two or three men about him, "Throw me over, I know the company will follow me." His orders were executed. For two or three minutes he was alone in the enemy's position, and in that space of time he received three or four wounds. But he had rightly judged the effect of his hardihood; the men followed, and the place was taken.

He was wounded in the shoulder with a musket-ball at Bois des Oliviers, on the 15th day of June, 1840, and in the arm with a musket-ball in the campaign of Mascara in 1842.

Pelissier joined the army before Sebastopol, when it was enduring the rigors of its first winter campaign. To the first corps, of which he assumed the command, was assigned the duty of supporting the artillery and engineers before Sebastopol, extending from the Quarantine Bastion to the Great Ravine, which leads to the military harbor;

whilst the second corps, under Bosquet, was held in readiness to repulse any attack which might be made by the Russian army in the field. He had held the command about four months, during which the French works had been considerably advanced. Numerous sorties were repulsed, and the Central and Flag Staff bastions almost ruined, when, on the 19th of May, General Canrobert announced his own resignation of the Chief Command; and, in language honorable to both parties, stated "that the Emperor had appointed Pelissier his successor."

Many explanations were at once offered for this sudden transfer; by some, it was affirmed that General Canrobert's opinion had been negatived in an important discussion at a council of war; by others that he could not acquiesce in the plan of the campaign recommended by the Emperor; no one admitted the sufficiency of the reasons put forward in the published official documents relating to the change—the failing health of the resigning General.

It is certain, whatever the cause of the resignation, that the appointment of Pelissier was received with profound satisfaction in the French camp. New energy was diffused into every department of the service. Within a week a successful expedition took Kertch; a forward movement on the Tchernaya, and a successful attack upon a Russian counter approach, were simultaneously carried out; and the credit of the whole was attributed to the superior energy of the new commander. He was in chief command when that grand desideratum of the Anglo-French alliance was consummated—the capture of Sebastopol. This event took place on the 8th of September, 1855.

Immediately afterward he received a Marshal's baton. Victoria has also conferred upon him the Grand Cross of Military Knight of the Order of Bath.

He was recently ambassador to England, where he was most cordially received. He has been recalled and has been charged by his Imperial master with the command of an army of observation on the Rhine. Louis Napoleon is apprehensive that Germany, under the influence of Austria, may be tempted to strike a blow at France while he is absent in Italy. The highest mark of confidence he could give to any man, is that which he has conferred upon the Duke of Malakoff. He has entrusted to his care the guarding of the highway to the centre of his Empire, and the safety of his Empress and child.

The stern warrior of sixty-five has recently allied himself to the Imperial family. He has married a cousin of the Empress Eugenie; a woman of strong intellect and possessed of a fine physique and a handsome face. She is about thirty-five years of age.

General Forey does not hold so high a rank as either of the officers whose biography has already been given. But as the leader of the division by which the first sharp battle of the present war was fought and won over the Austrians, his biography claims attention. He is the hero of the Montebello of 1859, as Lannes was of that of June 9th, 1800.

He was born in 1804, and was admitted into the French Military School of St. Cyr, in 1822. Afterwards he filled the post of instructor to the 2d Regiment of Light Infantry. He accompanied the first expedition against

Algiers, and returning, performed garrison duty in the country bordering upon the Pyrenées until 1835. In that year he attained the grade of Captain, and distinguished himself at Medeah during the retreat of the French army from the first siege of Constantine. He also acquired an increase of reputation at the Portes-de-Fer.

During the year 1840, at the head of a Battalion of Foot Chasseurs, he made four separate expeditions against the Arabs. He returned victorious from each. When he visited France during the same year, he was named a Colonel. In 1848, the rank of General was conferred upon him. He strongly favored the *coup d' état*. As soon as it was consummated he received a Commander's Cross in the Legion of Honor. The command of a Division was given him in 1852. He is a member of the superior commission of Infantry officers, and has done much to promote the efficiency of that arm of the French service by his minute and exact inspections.

During the Crimean War, he was appointed General of the 1st Division of the Reserved Corps; but during the great siege, he often had charge of the troops in the trenches. In every action where he was present, during that war, he behaved most admirably.

When the Italian war broke out, he had command of the 1st Division of the Army of Paris. He at present commands the 1st Division of the first Corps d' Armée of the French army in Italy. His immediate superior is Barraguay d' Hilliers. General Forey has skill, experience, and bravery. He is much beloved and respected by the Emperor.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SARDINIAN GENERALS — GARIBALDI — SERVES IN THE SARDINIAN MARINE — BEY OF TUNIS — REPUBLIC OF URAGUAY — RIO GRANDE — THE ITALIAN LEGION — REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN ITALY — CAREER IN NORTHERN ITALY — DEFENCE OF ROME — DEFEATS THE NEAPOLITANS — FALL OF ROME — ESCAPES FROM THE AUSTRIANS — RETURNS TO AMERICA — GOES BACK TO GENOA — COMMANDS A MERCHANTMAN — PRESENT POSITION — HIS CHARACTER — GENERAL ULLOA — HIS BIRTH AND EDUCATION — HIS SERVICES IN 1848 — HIS PRESENT POSITION — GENERAL ALPHONSE DELLA MARMORA — HIS EDUCATION — PLANS OF MILITARY REFORM — HIS FIRST SERVICES — HIS RAPID PROMOTION — MINISTER OF WAR — REDUCES GENOA — REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY — SERVICES IN THE CRIMEA — LORD HARDWICKE'S OPINION OF HIM — FOREIGN HONORS — HIS ELDER BROTHER — PRESENT POSITION — GENERAL DURANDO — HIS EARLY LIFE — COMMANDS THE ROMAN ARMY — HIS CONDUCT — ANECDOTE OF PIUS IX. — HIS DESERTION OF GENERAL FERRARA — DEFEATED BY THE AUSTRIANS — JOINS CHARLES ALBERT — OPINIONS — PRESENT POSITION — CURIOUS DESCRIPTION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SARDINIAN ARMY.

GENERAL GARIBALDI was born at Nice, on the 4th of July, 1807. The first service he ever saw was in the Sardinian marine, in which he gave many proofs of his courage, capacity, and skill in military tactics. His career in this direction was cut short by his participation in the conspiracy of "*la Giovane Italia*," in 1834. Escaping the vigilance of the Austrian Sbirri, Garibaldi took refuge in France, but not finding occupation for his talents, and

being utterly without resources, he entered the service of the Bey of Tunis, where he became Captain of a frigate. But Garibaldi's adventurous spirit soon became dissatisfied with the coasting service of the Bey. He therefore quitted it upon the first news of the revolt of the Province of Rio Grande against Brazil. Garibaldi, ever zealous in the cause of liberty, chartered a vessel and offered his services, which were accepted by the revolutionists of the new Republic of Uruguay.

In 1842, being severely wounded in an encounter with the Brazilians, he was taken prisoner. After much ill treatment, and many attempts to escape, he at length succeeded in obtaining his liberty in the year 1843. He hastened to Rio Grande, where he reëntered the service of the Republic as commander of its navy. In an encounter with the enemy he burned his whole squadron to avoid surrendering it to a stronger force. After this, nothing discouraged, he placed himself at the head of a few hundred emigrants and exiles and fought on his own responsibility. During this campaign of ambuscades and skirmishes, his young wife, whom he had married after his arrival in South America, shared his dangers, and was even taken prisoner by the Brazilians; but eluding the vigilance of her keepers, she rejoined her husband.

In 1844 we find Garibaldi engaged in Montevideo, in the struggle against Rosas. Here, with three small vessels, he sustained a combat of three days against a fleet of ten ships of war. Reduced to despair, he a second time burnt his vessels, and, with the soldiers and sailors on board, fought his way through the enemy into Montevideo. As

a recognition of his bravery, and of the merit of this brilliant action, he was unanimously appointed Commander of the Italian legion, then in the town. At the head of this distinguished legion, Garibaldi accomplished prodigies of valor, and the date of the battle of St. Antoine and the name of Garibaldi were inscribed in letters of gold on the banners of the regiment. Great interest was now excited in Europe by the brilliant career of the young General. The Revolutionary party in Italy had already fixed on him for their General. At the first news of the outbreak of 1848, Garibaldi left South America and sailed for Genoa, where he offered his sword to Charles Albert, then commanding in Lombardy. The counsellors of Charles Albert induced him to decline the services of this brilliant soldier of fortune. He then directed his steps towards Milan, which, after the defeat of Custoza, was threatened by the Austrians.

The Provisional Government, giving Garibaldi the command of three thousand volunteers, despatched him to the succor of Bergamo and Brescia; but the Austrians having regained possession of Milan, the people of the two cities he went to succor lost all courage, and Garibaldi was forced to retreat to Luino, where, for some time, having taken the two lake steamers, he maintained his position. At length, after many skirmishes with the enemy, Garibaldi was forced to withdraw, and, abandoning the cause, seek an asylum in Switzerland. This position of Garibaldi in 1848 is very much the same as the one he is now occupying at the commencement of the war of 1859.

The forced retreat of Garibaldi put the finishing stroke

to the irritation of the Italians against the Piedmontese Government, already threatened by the Radical party, with Gioberti at its head.

At the elections of the Piedmontese Representatives for the Parliament of 1848, Garibaldi was elected by Nice. He evinced his strong attachment to the Republican party by heading all his orders of the day with the words "Long live the Republic." But the hero of Montevideo is less a statesman than a soldier, and probably would not have distinguished himself in peace as in war. His abilities, however, were not tried, for he had scarcely time to take the constitutional oaths before the Parliament was dissolved.

The flight of Pius IX., and the revolt of Rome, gave fresh opportunities for the display of Garibaldi's ardor and courage. Sent for by Mazzini to Rome, he was entrusted with the defence of that city. He at first hoped to fraternize with the French troops under Oudinot.

He soon found that he should be obliged to oppose force to force. He repulsed the assailants at the Villa Pamphili, and took three hundred prisoners. On the 9th of May, profiting by a truce which had been declared, he fell on the Neapolitan army encamped at Palestirna. With three thousand men he completely routed five thousand, led by the Neapolitan General Rossellini. Ten days afterward Garibaldi attacked and surprised Ferdinand II. at the head of his troops at Belletri. The Neapolitans fled, leaving their arms and ammunition in his hands. The King himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. Garibaldi was severely wounded. Rome, however, despite all

the talent and bravery displayed in her defence, was destined to fall. When he saw that all was lost, in conjunction with Henrico Cernuschè, he attempted to continue the war amid the mountains with a small army of three thousand men. After encountering infinite danger and suffering, the little troop succeeded in reaching the Republic of San Marino, which was neutral ground; but the Allies soon interfered. Garibaldi, with only a few followers, strove to penetrate to the shores of the Adriatic and to embark for Venice. Not having been able to succeed, he was tracked on all sides by the Austrians. He then crossed the Appenines. During this perilous march, his wife, who had so nobly shared his dangers in South America, and who had devoted herself to the wounded in Rome, expired of exhaustion in one of the mountain passes.

After many adventures and much suffering he reached Genoa, and once more embarked for America. He landed in New York, where, in partnership with Salvi, a celebrated tenor singer, he put himself at the head of a company for the manufacture of tallow candles, on Staten Island. This speculation failed, and Salvi having gone to Europe, where he is now director of a small theatre in Seville, Garibaldi went to California.

In 1852 he proceeded to China in a Peruvian ship, having entered the service of Peru. At length, in 1854, seized with a yearning desire to visit his native country, he returned to Genoa, where he accepted the command of a merchant vessel. In this humble occupation the declaration of the new war of Italian liberty found him. He hastened to appeal to the Italians, and soon placed himself

at the head of a legion of volunteers, six thousand strong. These, with his own services, he again offered to Piedmont, and Victor Emanuel, better advised than his father, accepted them, with expressions of the warmest respect and admiration.

Garibaldi's life is like the wildest romance; his character like that of an ancient paladin; his love of liberty like that of an ancient Roman. He is still in the prime of life, vigorous, and enthusiastic as ever. He may yet meet with a reward for his numerous services and sufferings. For him it would be satisfaction sufficient should he behold the independence of Italy proclaimed, and foreign conquerors driven for ever from her soil.

General Jerome Ulloa was born at Naples in 1810. He belongs to a highly respectable family. Having been educated in the military college of Nunziatella, he left it in 1831, with the grade of Lieutenant of Artillery. He professed, even young as he was, the most liberal principles. He was arrested in 1833 for not having revealed a conspiracy of which he was supposed to be cognizant. He remained six months in prison under this charge.

As soon as the Constitutional *Regime* was established in 1848, at Naples, Ulloa, having then the rank of Captain, at a meeting of the officers of his regiment induced them to take an oath never to fire on the people except in conjunction with the National Guard, and in maintenance of the Constitution. When the war between Piedmont and Austria broke out in the same year, Ulloa obtained six months leave of absence in order to assist the cause of national liberty. He was about to depart at the head of a

corps of volunteers, when Naples decided to send an army, under the command of General Pepe, to support the Italians. Ulloa, of course, joined forces with Pepe, and was appointed the General's Aid-de-camp. General Pepe, old and infirm, relied greatly on his young Aid-de-camp for the organization of the troops.

Scarcely had the Neapolitan corps, commanded by Pepe, reached Bologna, before the King of Naples recalled them. General Pepe, however, with fifteen hundred men, pursued his way to Venice, whither, of course, Ulloa accompanied him. They entered Venice determined to defend it to the last. In April, 1849, Venice being closely pressed by the Austrians, Ulloa was entrusted with the defence of the fort of Molghera. Under his command a garrison of only two thousand five hundred men held out a whole month against the enemy. Forced at last to abandon the contest, he evacuated the fortress, leaving it entirely dismantled, without a single piece of artillery, and without a single man falling into the possession of the enemy. After this event, he was made a member of the Military Commission of Venice, and invested with unlimited power. When, after superhuman endurance, and prodigies of valor, Venice, reduced by famine and ravaged by the cholera, was forced to capitulate, Ulloa, with many of his companions-in-arms, abandoned Italy, carrying with them the hope of better days, and the determination to make her freedom the object of their lives. Since the fall of Venice, General Ulloa has resided principally in Paris. He has published several works on military science, as well as on the Revolution of 1848, which are highly

esteemed. Ulloa is a thoroughly disciplined and educated soldier, devoted to the cause of liberty, and brave, as all the Italian patriots have been.

He has returned to Italy since the present war broke out. He was entrusted, at its commencement, with the formation and organization of an independent legion, to be composed of volunteers. It was formed mostly of young and enthusiastic Parmese and Florentines.

When the recent revolt broke out in Tuscany, he was sent thither upon a special mission. The object seems to have been to consolidate the revolution, and take measures to prevent any reactionary movement. He seems to have accomplished this in the most solid and reliable manner.

General Alphonse della Marmora, born in 1804, is the youngest but one of a family of sixteen children. His father, the Marquis della Marmora, married a woman distinguished for her intellect and accomplishments—Mlle. de Berzé. The daughters, being the eldest of the family, were carefully educated by their mother, and in their turn took charge of the education of their younger brothers when, in 1805, the Marchesa was left a widow with this enormous family.

Admitted to the military academy in 1816, he came out in 1823, with the rank of Lieutenant of Artillery, and some time after was made Adjutant. He has particularly turned his attention to horsemanship, gymnastics, and the practice of gunnery, and has organized normal schools for the instruction of the sub-officers and soldiers in these exercises. In 1848 he held the rank of Major. He distinguished himself particularly, at Monzambano, Borghetto, Valleggio and Pescara.

On the 2d of April, 1848, he effected, on the heights of Pastiengo, a happy diversion by which the rear of the Austrian Army was thrown into confusion. Time was given to the disordered Piedmontese to rally and rout the enemy. This action gained him the confidence of Charles Albert, who had previously regarded in an unfavorable light his plans for military reform.

His firmness and presence of mind, in the midst of the popular agitation, during an *émeute* at Milan, by which the person of the King was imperiled, caused him to be named General of Brigade. He was for a time attached to the staff of General Chrzanowski. After the armistice of 1849 he commanded a reserved corps, and attempted an intervention in Tuscany. Before he could effect it, he received orders to join the Sardinian Army, which had then just crossed the Ticino. He was unable to arrive in time. The battle of Novara, the Sardinian Waterloo, was lost, ere he was able to effect a junction of his detachment with the main army.

He took the fortress of Reta from the Lombards, who had seized upon it in order to assist the revolt at Genoa. He was ordered to advance upon Genoa, at the head of a powerful force, and besiege it. After an easy bombardment he retook it for the King, and quelled the revolt.

Victor Emanuel, who had in the meantime succeeded Charles Albert, appointed him Lieutenant-General and Minister of War, during the year 1849. The Sardinian army had been completely disorganized by the repeated defeats of the late campaign. Whole regiments, after the battle of Novara, were completely dispersed. There

were some brigades who reckoned their losses by hundreds. It is clear that the acts of pillage which followed this demoralization are attributable, not to the disposition of the Piedmontese soldiery, but to the vices inherent in the organization of the Sardinian army system of that day. It was General Marmora's work to cure the system of these radical defects.

The drill and discipline, the constitution of the regimental staff, the scale of pay, have all undergone considerable change. It was his constant care, during his first administration of the War Office, to cultivate a military spirit. He possesses a resolute spirit, and has compelled the officers to materially alter their manners, and this is not among the least beneficial of the changes made by him.

In 1855, Marmora resigned his position as Minister of War, was succeeded by General Durando, and took the command of the Sardinian force dispatched to the Crimea. This division numbered 17,000 men. It became a part of the Corps of Reserve; but little opportunity was given to it or its General, for distinction. At the passage of the Tchernaya, the Sardinian Carbineers under his lead successfully repulsed the Russians. His brother, the Chevalier Della Marmora, who was serving under him as Major General, died of Cholera.

The Earl of Hardwicke, a distinguished British statesman, spoke thus of the personal character of General Marmora, in the House of Lords, in 1854:

“I can state, for the satisfaction of the British Army, that General Marmora is a man of high ability, whose

soldier-like qualities will merit their esteem. He is, moreover, possessed of so much openness, frankness, and nobility of character that he will always be accessible to their communications, and receive them in a congenial manner. He is a good soldier, and a perfect gentleman in his deportment."

At the close of the Crimean war, he received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, in France, and was made a Knight of the Bath, in England. On his return to Turin, he resumed his place in the Cabinet as Minister of War. To this office is also attached the Ministry of Marine. The Sardinian Navy has been much neglected, and much fault has been found with him, both in and out of the Sardinian Parliament, for his inefficient management of it. He has more than once frankly acknowledged his total ignorance of maritime affairs.

General Marmora's elder brother was also Lieutenant General in the Sardinian service. He bore the title of Prince of Masserano.

General Marmora is now the Commander-in-Chief of the Piedmontese Army, at the seat of war. Victor Emanuel has a great fondness for him. This is easily accounted for. They possess some leading traits of character which are very similar, and their tastes have therefore run in the same direction.

General Durando is a native of Piedmont, between fifty and sixty years of age. He was slightly implicated in the revolt of 1831, which Charles Albert suppressed with such terrible cruelty. He escaped, however, the vengeance of the King, and went to Spain. There he adopted a

military career, served with distinction in the army of the Liberal party, and attained high rank.

He took part in the war of 1848, in Italy, and was entrusted with the command of an army of 20,000 men, composed of Italians from the Roman States. The desire of the extreme Republicans of the army was, that Gen. Ferrara should be the Commander-in-Chief. But the Pope, at that time, had become alarmed at the progress of the Revolution, and had joined the reactionary party. He procured the appointment of Durando to the position, believing that if Durando did not manage to check the Revolution he would succeed in having it defeated.

Montanelli, a distinguished Italian *littérateur*, tells the following story about the Pope in this connection. The Holy Father was wont to say :

“I have much to fear from the republicanism and impetuosity of Ferrara. But I can fully trust Durando, with his good-natured face and sleek looks, so like those of a fat monk.”

Durando, if he had done his duty, would have advanced at once toward the passes of the Tyrol, so as to have cut off the advance of the Austrians from Germany, who were rapidly pushing forward to the relief of Radetzky, then shut up with his shattered army in the strong fortress of Verona. Two Austrian Generals, Welden and Nugent, at the head of 20,000 men, were advancing by forced marches. General Durando instead of keeping his small army united, and giving them battle, divided it. One corps composed almost wholly of volunteers, was sent

off under General Ferrara. He suffered this to be attacked and crushed by this superior force, without going to his assistance. It is true he afterwards gave battle to the same Austrian corps, but he was defeated and they passed on to Verona.

His little army wasted gradually away until he, with a few troops, joined Charles Albert. In the army of the King he was entrusted with the command of a Division and was present at several battles. He was Sardinian Minister of War during the time General Marmora was in the Crimea. It was through his efforts mainly that the Piedmontese Parliament consented to the alliance against Russia.

That General Durando betrayed the Republicans in 1848, there is no doubt. There seems to be as little doubt that he is sincerely attached to the reigning Piedmontese dynasty, and that he eagerly desires the growth and prosperity of his native country. He is a military chief of moderate talents, united to great energy of will and perseverance of conduct. He now commands a Division of the Sardinian army.

To these notices of the principal Sardinian Generals it may be proper to append the following curious description of the manner in which their army is constituted. The description is taken from a very high authority, and applies to that army as it was in 1856:

“Besides the body-guard of his majesty, and the royal guard of the palace, the Piedmontese army is thus divided:—

“1st. The Royal Carbineers, who in time of peace act as police, and in time of war assist the army:

“2d. Royal Corps, called the Staff.

“3d. Royal Corps of Military Engineers, seconded by a Battalion of Sappers.

“4th. Royal Corps of Artillery, divided into three regiments — one of workmen, who prepare the material; one of twelve companies of artillerymen for fortified places, and another to serve in the field. There are twenty batteries of six pieces each.

“5th. In the Infantry there is a picked brigade, although no longer privileged, namely, the brigade of Grenadiers, and two regiments of two battalions. There are nine other brigades, of two regiments of three battalions: in all, fifty-four battalions. Besides there is a regiment of Chasseurs of Sardinia, another of Free Chasseurs, both of two battalions. There are three battalions of Bersaglieri, a corps from which France is said to have copied its former Chasseurs de Vincennes. The imitation, however, has surpassed the model; for the Piedmontese still use the old carbine, and have not adopted the Minié rifle. The broad-brimmed, spherical-crowned hat of varnished leather, shaded by dark-green plumes, worn by these Bersaglieri, and which has at first such a theatrical, nay, comic effect, comes by custom to seem both elegant and military.

“6th. There are ten regiments of cavalry, four of the line, six of light cavalry; in all, forty squadrons.

“There are other supplementary institutions, which increase the efficiency of the army. These are the corps of

Veterans and Invalids, the dépôts for officers, the commandants of places and forts, and, finally, the institutions for military discipline and education, as the School of Infantry and Cavalry, the Royal Academy, and the College for Soldiers' Sons."

CHAPTER XII.

AUSTRIAN GENERALS—BARON HESS—BIRTH—EARLY SERVICES—RAPID PROMOTION—SERVED UNDER RADETSKY—HIS STRATEGETIC TALENTS—ANECDOTE WITH THE ELECTOR OF HESSE—WITH THE EMPEROR—PROBABLE POSITION HE WILL ASSUME IN THIS WAR—GENERAL BENEDEK—HIS SERVICES—GALLICIA—ITALY—HIS QUALITIES AS A SOLDIER—GENERAL WIMPFEN—COUNT STADION—EDMOND PRINCE SCHWARTZENBURG—PRINCE CHARLES FREDERIC SCHWARTZENBURG—THEIR FAMILY—PRINCE FREDERIC CHARLES LEICHTENSTEIN—PRINCE EDWARD LEICHTENSTEIN—GENERAL ZOBEL.

FIRST among the Austrian Generals in point of age and reputation is Henry Baron de Hess. He was born in Vienna, in 1788, and began his military career as an Ensign in 1805. For sometime he was employed either upon the staff of the army, or in engineering operations. He saw active service, for the first time, in the campaign of 1809. He won great distinction at the battle of Wagram, which resulted so disastrously to the House of Hapsburg. His first service was against the same enemy with whom he is now struggling upon the plains of Lombardy.

During the campaigns which immediately preceded the downfall of Napoleon, he was constantly upon duty. The brilliancy of his deeds in the battles of Dresden and Leipsic, caused him to be promoted with rapidity. After the Peace of Paris, he was President of the Council of War. In 1830, he attained the rank of Colonel in the

Army of Italy, and was placed at the head of a Division of the Staff. He obtained the reputation of being one of the most accomplished officers in the Austrian army.

Obtaining the rank of Field-Marshal-Lieutenant in 1842, his strategic talents had not full play until the war of 1848. He was the principal military counsellor of Marshal Radetzky. Baron Hess sketched out all the principal operations of that brilliant campaign with which the Italian war closed in 1848. Among these splendid movements, the march on Vicenza, the storming and capture of that city, and the retreat of the Piedmontese at Custazza, on July 28th. This caused Charles Albert to retreat, and led to the armistice of the 9th of August.

Marshal Radetzky was indebted to Hess for the masterly plan of the campaign in the spring of 1849; a campaign which, in three days, completely destroyed the Sardinian army, under Charles Albert, March 23d, 1849, and terminated the war. For these signal services General Hess was rewarded with the title of Baron, the Grand Cross of the Order of Maria Theresa, the Order of Leopold, and made Master of the Ordnance, and the head of the Staff of the Austrian army, which position he still holds.

Radetzky had one great military virtue. He was always ready to recognise and acknowledge worth and excellence in his fellow-soldiers. He wrote to the wife of Baron Hess a letter, in which, speaking of these campaigns, he says, "If I have all the glory he has all the merit." In writing to the Department of War at Vienna, Radetzky said:

"Before all, I hasten to name my Quarter-Master-Gener-

ral, General de Hess. To him—I say it from the fulness of my heart—is due by far the greater portion of the results which have been achieved by the Imperial army during the last campaign. Seeing everything at a glance, always seizing the right opportunity, and profiting by it with rapidity; ever keeping the most elevated aim in view, he had my entire, my unlimited confidence; and with him by my side I led the army on to certain victory. The army knew this and conquered.”

Since the close of the wars of 1849, Baron Hess has served as Ambassador at the Court of Berlin. During the Crimean wars he, for a time, commanded the Austrian army of observation in the Turkish Provinces.

A rather amusing incident is related as happening between Baron Hess and the Elector of Hesse. The latter, who is one of the most stupid of the many stupid petty Princes in Germany, was introduced to the Baron Hess, a General whose fame is European, and asked him “If he had shared in the Italian campaign?” Hess replied in the affirmative. The Elector enquired what position he had held? He answered that of “Chief of the Staff.” The German Prince then very innocently inquired “whether or not *he had commanded a corps?*”

Baron Hess is now in Italy with the Emperor Francis Joseph. He is said, by many, to possess the most finely constituted military mind in Europe. He may probably occupy toward Gyulai the same position that he did toward Radetzky, except that he was inferior to Radetzky in military rank, whilst he is superior to Gyulai. One he advised—to the other he can speak on terms of equality,

if not of command. Unless some great disaster overtake the Austrian army, he, Baron Hess, will probably not assume an active open command in the field.

Another very distinguished officer, now commanding a corps d'armée, is Louis de Benedek, a General of Division, who has done more hard fighting, and seen more service, than any officer of like grade in the Austrian army, with, perhaps, the exception of General Schlick. He was born at Edenbourg, a small town of Hungary, in 1804. He acquired a knowledge of his profession at Neustadt. He entered the Austrian army as Cornet, in 1822. From the superior qualities and knowledge of his profession which he exhibited, he had reached the rank of Colonel as early as 1843, — a remarkably rapid rise in the Austrian service.

A rising in Gallicia, against the Hapsburgs, took place in that year, and he played a leading part in its suppression. He was entrusted, by the Arch-Duke Ferdinand d'Este, with the pacification of the eastern part of the Province. This commission he successfully filled, according to the Austrian standard of merit.

At the outbreak of the troubles in Italy he was ordered to Milan, and bore an active part in all the campaign which followed. The coolness and bravery he exhibited during the retreat from Milan, at the battle of Ossone, and more especially at Custature, where he was the last to leave the field, attracted general attention to him, and elicited high commendation. Radetzky alluded to him in an official bulletin. This mention of his services obtained for him the Order of Maria Theresa. He had ~~had~~ previously bestowed upon him that of St. Leopold.

The successful siege of Mortara, and the battle of Novara, conferred new laurels upon him. He was immediately afterward created Major-General of the First Reserve Corps of the Army of the Danube, and transferred to Hungary. He was twice wounded in his campaign against the Magyars, having been present in at least a dozen sharp encounters with them. His laurels did not freshen and brighten there. Like those of Welden and Wolgemuth, who, too, had won high reputations in Italy, they faded in a contest with abler generals and better soldiers.

After the close of the Hungarian campaign Benedek was transferred to the command of the Second Corps d'Armée of the Army of Italy. He is now Commander of the Fourth. He is a hard fighter, a good soldier, and has some ability as a strategist, but hitherto has not had much opportunity for the display of his talents in this direction.

Francis Emile de Wimpffen, who was recently, and has been for some time, Commander of the Austrian forces in the eastern part of the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces, was born at Prague in 1797. Like Baron Hess, he saw service in the Allied armies, during the last campaigns against Napoleon. He was slowly promoted until, having attained the rank of Field-Marshal, he commanded a division of the Second Corps d'Armée in Italy, in 1848, and won great distinction. With General Nugent, he defeated the Roman Republican army, under Durando and Ferrara, and relieved Radetzky at Verona. At Vicenza and Custazza he acted a distinguished part. For

this latter service he was rewarded with the Order of Maria Theresa.

At a later period of the same year he took Ancona after a most obstinate defence, and bombarded Bologna.

Since he has become Governor of Venetia, and Commander of the military forces upon the shores of the Adriatic, he has added much to the efficiency of the Austrian Navy. In 1854, he became Commander of the first corps of the Austrian army. His talent seems to be, merely to execute well the orders given to him.

Count Stadion is now at the head of the Fifth Corps d'Armée. He served in Italy and Hungary during the war of 1848-49. He possessed the confidence of his superiors, and was regarded as one who could head a bold assault, lead a forlorn-hope, or hold a position, with dogged and obstinate tenacity, against an attack. He is reported to have been wounded at the recent battle which opened the campaign of 1859, at Montebello. His age is sixty.

A celebrated relative of his was a member of the first Ministry of Prince Schwartzburg, who died in 1852. His relative held the Portfolio of Home Affairs, from November, 1848, until May in the following year.

In 1858, his military corps, the Fifth Corps d'Armée, was stationed at Milan. He has been in Italy from that time to this.

Edmond Prince Schwartzburg, Commander of the Third Corps d'Armée, was born in 1803, and holds various civil dignities besides his high military position. No particularly striking action seems to have raised his name

above the ordinary list of Austrian Generals. He saw some service in 1848-49, under Radetzky and Haynau. His corps is ordinarily stationed at Vienna. He must not be confounded with his relative, Prince Charles Frederic Schwartzenburg, who commands the Twelfth Corps d'Armée stationed at Hermanstadt, in Transylvania.

They are, both of them, related to the late celebrated Austrian Prime Minister, and to the Prince Schwartzenburg who commanded the Allied armies against Napoleon, in 1813.

This family is very numerous, both in the elder and younger branches; and nearly all the male members hold high military positions in the Austrian service.

The history of Prince Frederic Leichstenstein resembles closely that of Schwartzenburg. He belongs to a family almost regal in its possessions and alliances. He served in Italy in 1848. When the Sixth Corps d'Armée was stationed at Gratz, in Styria, in 1848, he commanded it. He is now about fifty-two years of age. There is no evidence that either he or Schwartzenburg possess any great military skill or high soldierly qualities, save the single one of intense courage. There is also a Prince Edward Leichtenstein, who commands the Second Corps d'Armée, stationed in Cracovia in 1858. He was born in 1809.

General Zobel, who seems to have become the temporary Commander of the Seventh Corps d'Armée, was a Colonel of Cavalry in the beginning of the Italian campaign of 1848. He was most thoroughly beaten by the Sardinians at Mallona and Della Corona. The rank of Military-

Governor of Trent was afterwards conferred upon him, and whilst acting in this capacity, he caused, without the least justification, a number of Italian prisoners to be shot. He is cold, cruel, and implacable.

CHAPTER XIII.

SARDINIAN STATESMEN—COUNT CAVOUR—POSITION OF HIS FAMILY—PRINCE BORGHESE—ANECDOTE OF COUNT CAVOUR'S FATHER—PRINCE D'CARIGNAN—CAVOUR'S TRAVELS—RETURN TO SARDINIA—ENTERS POLITICS—ATTACHES HIMSELF TO THE LIBERAL PARTY—CONGRESS OF PARIS—COUNT D'AZEGLIO—HIS CHARACTER AS AN ARTIST—HIS SERVICES TO SARDINIA—HIS POSITION IN ITALY—RATAZZI—BROFFERIOS—VALERIO, LEADER OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

CAMILLE CAVOUR, whose reputation as a statesman, and as head of the Piedmontese Cabinet, is world-wide, and associated with the stirring events of the last five years, is a man of immense wealth, being one of the largest landed proprietors in Piedmont. He is the son of a noble family of Chieri; a town not far removed from Turin, and which once had the advantage of being a little Republic in itself. It is said that the family of Cavour originally trace their descent from a frail ancestor, who listened to the seductions of a Prince of the House of Savoy.

Be this as it may, certain it is, that, until the time of the father of the present Count, the Cavour family was looked on as one of decayed fortunes. But the father of Camille, a man of shrewd intellect, contrived to attach himself to the House of Bonaparte, then in the ascendant, and become a favorite of the Prince Borghese, whilst he

was Governor of Turin. Borghese attached him to his person, in no very honorable position. It is supposed the following anecdote can be relied on, as related by a popular English writer on Sardinia.

“One of the favorites of Prince Borghese was a certain Giovanina, an opera-dancer of marvellous beauty. The lady felt her influence, and liked to show it. On particular occasions, instead of going to the apartments of the Prince by a private stair-case, she went by the grand entrance of the royal palace, and passing by the astonished guards reached the ante-chamber. Here she was met by a venerable Count, whose sense of honor allowed him to be the valet of a Prince, but was sorely hurt when requested to announce the visit of an actress to his master. After a momentary hesitation, however, he presented himself in the inner-room and performed his office, but with every possible mark of annoyance and disgust. The Prince, hearing who was coming, understood the reason of the nobleman's ill-humor, and said to him, smiling graciously we are told, ‘My dear Count, you are interfering with the duties of Count Cavour.’ ”

During the time he was in favor with Prince Borghese, Cavour laid the first foundations of the immense fortune his son enjoys. His principal source of wealth arose from his adroitness in profiting by the sales of national property then going on; by which he acquired in the territory of Vercelli the principal estates of his family.

In 1810, Camille, the present Minister, was born. He was educated at a military college, but did not pursue the career of arms, for, on leaving college he accepted a posi-

tion in the household of the Prince de Carignan. Abandoning, for some private motive, this position, Count Camille spent some years in traveling through Switzerland, France, and England, studying the constitutions and commercial resources of the various countries in which he sojourned. On his return to Turin, he could not but mingle in the politics of the day and manifest his opinions in a journal which he founded, entitled "*Il Risorgimento*." Count Cavour, from the first attached himself to the Liberal party, adding, however, to the banner of Italy the Cross of the House of Savoy, believing the two interests to be united. He took no very prominent part in the struggle of 1848, and first assumed his place at the head of Sardinian affairs in 1852; since which time he has continued to direct them.

Count Camille Cavour, is a man of broad and enlightened views, possessed of much more prudence and tact than is usually displayed by Italians in the administration of public affairs. His sympathies with England, as well as his intimacy with several English statesmen, render him the advocate of a Constitutional Monarchy, as offering greater elements of prosperity and stability than a Republic.

His conduct, tact, shrewdness and talent during the Congress of Paris, after the Crimean War, has given him a high rank as a diplomatist. Count Cavour enjoys the unlimited confidence of his Sovereign, and though in Piedmont he has many enemies among the Ultra-Liberals and the Church party, the increased prosperity of the Kingdom at home, its aggrandizement and importance abroad, fully

prove the Minister's talents, and the patriotic spirit which inspires him.

He had the sagacity to perceive that by joining the Allies in the Crimean War, he would raise Sardinia to a position she could not otherwise attain so easily. The result has justified his expectations. France has allied herself closely to Sardinia, and the latter has thus been enabled to defy its ancient and hated foe, Austria. In 1857, Austria broke off all diplomatic intercourse with Sardinia, and it has not since been renewed.

Count Cavour from that hour, and even from an earlier period, has labored strenuously to place Sardinia in such a position as to enable her to enter upon the war with Austria with decided chances of success. He has devoted his life to the expulsion of the Hapsburgs from Italy.

Another of his leading ideas is the union of all Italy under one constitution. This may not be accomplished in his day, but the consolidation of Northern Italy into one nation seems by no means improbable.

Count Cavour is second in point of ability to no living European statesman.

Massimio d' Azeglio is one of the most brilliant specimens of *La Giovane Italia*. In person handsome, in manners refined, in heart a hero, in intellect a poet. Italy has few sons of whom she is prouder than of Azeglio. He belongs to a noble family of Piedmont. His father was Ambassador to Rome in 1816. Here Massimio d' Azeglio first imbibed the love of art which has distinguished him. He studied painting and music. In the art of Raphael, whose style he especially studied, he has attained high

eminence. The Louvre and the gallery at Turin possess pictures by him which hold high rank in the artistic world. Massimio d' Azeglio formed a strong friendship in early youth for the poet Giusti. Together they went to Milan, and here Azeglio married the eldest daughter of the celebrated Italian novelist, Manzoni.

In addition to genius of the highest order, Azeglio possesses the rare gift of versatility, and was so highly endowed that in all the branches of art he has attempted, he has succeeded equally well. Living with Giusti and Manzoni in a literary atmosphere, Azeglio was seized with an inspiration to write. He accordingly produced a novel, entitled "*Ettore e' Fieramosca*," which, from its elegance of style and nobility of sentiment, created a marked sensation in Italy. Soon after the publication of this work he lost his wife. She had been a poet's love, and from the time of her death, Azeglio's life appears to have undergone a change. From the arts, poetry, literature and music he turned with distaste. She appears to have borne away with her all that was ideal or beautiful in his nature.

We know nothing of her but that she was the daughter of Manzoni, the wife of d' Azeglio, and that she died young; but her virtues, her merits and her beauties are told by the agony of years which her death cost to two men of genius. Her father, Manzoni, wept till only two years seclusion in darkened rooms saved him from utter blindness, and Azeglio bid adieu to his youth when her gentle spirit left him.

Henceforth, Azeglio becomes known to the world as a defender of Italian liberties; as one of the ablest in her

cause, which he advocated with his pen, his wealth, his influence and his sword. Azeglio, from birth and association, was devoted, however, to the House of Savoy. He beheld in this House the natural Sovereigns of Italy, destined to restore their liberties and rights. He attached himself as Aid-de-camp to Durando, and bore an active part in the campaign, and was severely wounded near Vicenza.

After the battle of Novara, he was elected to the National Assembly, and the young King, Victor Emanuel, selected him for his Prime Minister. In 1849 he entered upon the arduous duties of his office, and fulfilled them so as to conciliate all parties, whilst at the same time he advanced the prosperity of his country. Massimio d' Azeglio accompanied Cavour to the Peace Congress in Paris. He is a personal friend of the King. M. d' Azeglio, previous to 1848, married a rich heiress, daughter of a Swiss banker, settled like many other Swiss financiers in Milan. Although Mad. d' Azeglio is amiable and discreet, and has a high position in society, and M. d' Azeglio is in every way calculated to flatter the vanity and secure the affections of a wife, the marriage has not been a happy one, and by mutual consent they have lived separately, one residing at Milan and the other at Turin, since within a few months of their union. Count d' Azeglio is the principal opponent of the Ultra-Liberal Party in Piedmont.

Amongst the remarkable men mingled in State affairs is Count Ratazzi, the friend and disciple of Cavour. Brofferio is a man of extraordinary eloquence as well as

of great influence in the Piedmontese Parliament. His name is popular among the people, from the political and satirical songs he has written, which have obtained for him the name of the Beranger of Italy.

Lorenzo Valerio is a leader of the Liberal Party, who first raised his voice, at the danger of his life, in the cause of liberty, before liberal ideas had dawned in the mind of Charles Albert. He was born at Turin in 1810. He is a man of practical habits, careful education, and as a political writer ranks as a man of genius. He was the founder of a political journal "*La Concordia*," which, restricted as journalism is in Italy, formed quite an event.

Lorenzo Valerio, and his character, have been thus happily described in a recent work :

"Valerio is deputy for Casteggio. At the end of last year his constituents sent him, as a testimonial of their respect, a silver statue of Dante; and I was much interested in reading the letter by which this testimonial was accompanied. 'We admire you,' it said among other things, 'because you have not too much attended to our local affairs, caring rather for the general prosperity of Piedmont and Italy.' Electors who can think thus are worthy of such a representative.

"Lorenzo Valerio, in fine, may be said to be at the head in Piedmont of a party which is not Republican, only because it hopes that the Sardinian Monarchy will easily bring about the salvation of Italy. This party is numerous, but will become Republican on the day when the Monarchy of Savoy proves by its acts and declarations that the Italian cause is not its cause, and that it abandons it.

It is important that we should take these facts into account in our estimate of the state of things over the Alps. All men of virtue and principle are ready to sacrifice their private views and opinions to the great object of independence and free government; but if they be called upon to coöperate in removing one yoke to put on another, or in endeavoring to force Italy into adopting forms and ideas and arrangements that are disgusting to it, they will assuredly stand aloof or oppose."

Such are the men and the party who are probably preparing for Italy an intestine struggle, which, should the Austrians be conquered, will become as ferocious and obstinate as that which now animate all in driving the foreign conqueror from the soil.

CHAPTER XIV.

AUSTRIAN STATESMEN—COUNT BUOL—SCHAUENSTEIN—HIS EARLY CAREER—FIRST SERVICE AT LONDON—RAPID RISE IN RANK—ATTAINS THE PREMIERSHIP—PEACE CONGRESS—RETIREMENT—VIEWS OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY—HIS TALENTS—COUNT RECHBERG—HIS DESCENT—SKETCH OF HIS LIFE—HIS CHARACTER AND PROCLIVITIES—COUNT HUBNER—CONNECTION WITH THE ROYAL FAMILY—EMBASSY TO PARIS—COUNT GRUNNE—MILITARY TALENTS—PRESENT POSITION.

AT the beginning of the present contest between Austria and the Allies, Count Buol was Prime Minister of Austria. He continued in that position for some months after it was apparent that war was inevitable. He conducted the intricate negotiations attendant upon these difficulties until his retirement. He was the author of the State papers which Austria gave to the world as vindications of her past actions and future course. No chapter can be appropriately written upon the Austrian statesmen of the present time without including him, although he no longer takes any active participation in the management of public affairs.

Count Buol belongs to the younger branch of a noble family, of the Canton of Grison, in Switzerland. He was born on the 17th of May, 1797. His father was for many years President of the Germanic Diet as the representative of Austria. He had previously held several important posts under the old Germanic Empire.

Charles Buol prepared for his diplomatic career under the direction of his father. From 1816 to 1824 he was attached to various legations. In 1824 he was Secretary of Legation to London, and served with Bourqueney and Gortschakoff. It is rather singular that these three apprentices to diplomacy should since have all risen to high positions in their respective countries; Bourqueney in France; Gortschakoff in Russia; and Buol in Austria.

In 1831 he received his first appointment of a superior grade. He went as Austrian Minister to the little Court of Hesse-Darmstadt. Afterwards he was raised to the embassy at Wirtemberg, and his marriage with the Princess Caroline Bornstein, (which took place about this time,) greatly increased his importance and his worldly means. His wife belongs to the elder branch of the Isenburg-Bornstein family, and, at the time of her marriage, was lady in waiting to the Empress of Austria.

The revolution of 1848 found Count Buol Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Turin. As soon as he discovered the part Charles Albert intended to take in the insurrection in Lombardy, without waiting for instructions, he demanded his passports. This energetic proceeding was duly appreciated by Prince Schwartzenburg, then Prime Minister of Austria, who immediately appointed him Minister to St. Petersburg. In 1850 he was recalled by the Prince, in order that he might have the benefit of his intimate acquaintance with the subjects involved in the discussion between Austria and Prussia, relative to the Duchy of Holstein.

In 1851 he went as Ambassador to London. The

sudden death of Prince Schwartzenburg, in 1852, occasioned his recall. He was at once appointed President of the Council, with the Portfolio of War.

He is supposed to have aimed energetically at carrying out the internal policy of the great man whom he succeeded. That policy led him to cultivate the interests and good-will of the middle classes, and to check the influence and abate the power of the aristocracy, and to centralize the administration of this extensive and heterogeneous empire. During the dangers of such a transition state he relied upon the army, which he raised to unusual strength.

His foreign policy aimed at reducing the influence of Russia in Austria. To effect this, he sought a closer alliance with France, by the assiduous cultivation of the most friendly feelings. He sought to substitute Austrian for Russian protection in the Moldo-Wallachian Provinces. He desired, also, to obtain the free navigation of the Danube.

It was mainly through Count Buol's influence over Francis Joseph, that Austria was induced to sign the treaty of December, 1854, by which Russia was compelled, in substance, to concede the four guarantees demanded by the Allies. He and Baron Hübner were the Imperial representatives at the celebrated Peace Congress, at Paris, in 1856.

Count Buol has introduced many administrative reforms in commercial and postal matters. He is an active, sagacious and moderately progressive statesman. His progressive policy has taken the direction of amelio-

ration in material improvements. He has no desire for the extension of the political franchises of the different nationalities composing this mongrel Empire. Beyond question, he is the ablest of Austrian statesmen. His qualities of sincerity, and loyalty to his word, have ever distinguished him in all the relations of life. It has been well said, since his late retirement, that "Austria will need him, ere he shall need her."

Various causes have been assigned for this. Some have alleged that he was opposed to the present war from the beginning. Others, that he was eagerly seeking to obtain a renewal of the Russian Alliance. The former seems the more likely to be the true cause. It is highly probable that some question of difference concerning the management of the war since its commencement, has occurred between him and the Emperor.

The successor of Count Buol is Bernard Count Rechberg. Bavaria is his native country. Born in 1806, he, consequently, is now fifty-three years of age. He is noble by birth, and belongs to a Bavarian House, the head of which is Count Albert De Rechberg-Rothenlowen.

Count Rechberg, now Prime-Minister of Austria, married Miss Barbara Jones, a sister of Viscount Ranelagh, an Irish peer, who distinguished himself under Espartero, in Spain, and has since been known as an extremely "fast man" about London, alike remarkable for his escapades, debts and *liasons*.

Count Rechberg's Bavarian origin prevented his rise, in Austria, until 1848; when he became a favorite with Prince Schwartzenburg he rose rapidly. In 1855 he

received the appointment of Austrian representative to the Diet at Frankfort, and as such, has been, *ex-officio*, the President of that body, until lately recalled to take his present place as Prime Minister of Austria.

He is narrow-minded in his views. His sympathies and proclivities are purely dynastic. He bitterly hates the middle classes, whom Buol thought to elevate into importance, as a counterpoise to the aristocracy. Francis Joseph could have selected no one who, from the sheer love of tyranny, would have better suited his ideas of pure, unadulterated absolutism. He has all the ferocity and inflexibility of character which distinguished Schwartzenburg, without a tithe of his intellectual force. If it depends upon him to terminate the present war, he will display as much hard-headed obstinacy as Lord North did during the Revolutionary war.

One who has studied his career thoroughly, and who is in every way qualified to speak of him, thus describes some of the incidents of his life, and sums up his character :

“With that unflinching boldness which is the conspicuous virtue in his vehement and irascible nature, Count Rechberg escorted Prince Metternich out of Vienna. While vacillating attempts were going on at a compromise with the revolution, he haughtily disdained to participate in what he held to be an ignoble line of policy. But when the vessel of the State began slowly to emerge to sight out of the dissolving smoke clouds of this terrible conflict, and the resolute figure of the cynical Schwartzenburg was beheld quietly holding the helm in his stern

gripe, then by his side was also seen the active little figure of Rechberg. And he stood by his side throughout the whole of his term of office, lending the elaborate and refined point of his pungent nature to the military despotism which was the sum of Schwartzenburg's break-or-yield administration.

“To all the arbitrary and wanton policy which has impressed an indelible stamp upon the restoration of the House of Hapsburg under the auspices of Prince Schwartzenburg, Count Rechberg has been an active party. It is one of his peculiar characteristics to express intense contempt for all official considerations, and to avow uncompromising hostility to what he styles the pedantry of the bureaucracy — a hostility quite justified, but by which he intends to exculpate the establishment of an absolute executive resting in a hand exempt from all trammels. Absolutist doctrines have been embraced by him as the code of a political profession, and he consistently follows them through all consequences, being, from cold calculation in practice, as thorough-going an Ultramontaine as the Emperor is from pious conviction.”

Baron Alexandre Hübner is the person to whom great interest attaches, as being the Austrian Ambassador at Paris, to whom Napoleon, at the reception on New Year's Day, 1859, gave the first intimation of discord between the two Powers, by openly expressing to his representative his disapproval of the conduct of the Emperor of Austria, with regard to his Italian policy.

Baron Alexandre Hübner was born in Vienna in 1811, where he was also educated. He was a favorite and pro-

tegé of Prince Metternich, who, in 1837, appointed him Secretary of the Legation in Paris, under Count Appony. In 1841 he occupied a Minister's post in Portugal. In 1844 he was appointed Consul General of Austria, at Leipsic.

In 1848, the Archduke Regnier, Viceroy of Lombardy, confided to Baron Hübner his diplomatic negotiations and correspondence with the Italian Sovereigns. The Baron, surprised at the insurrection of Milan, was taken prisoner and retained for some months, by the Revolutionists, as a hostage—obtaining his liberty by an exchange of prisoners.

On his return to Vienna, Prince Schwartzenburg gave to Baron Hübner the perilous charge of conveying the Imperial family to Olmutz. Prince Schwartzenburg, esteeming highly Hübner's honesty, talents, and devotion to the House of Hapsburg, employed him in the important work of organizing the Empire, under the new Constitution, on the accession of the present Emperor. It was in the year 1849 that Hübner succeeded Appony, as Ambassador to the Court of France. He signed the treaty of 1856. Baron Hübner was, personally, much liked by the Emperor Napoleon, who made him Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor. Baron Hübner has returned to Vienna since the outbreak of hostilities.

Charles Count Grünne is the present Austrian Minister of War. Much of the efficiency and rigor of the army will depend upon his fitness for the post. Should he fail in his administration of the Transportation, Ordnance, or Commissariat Departments of the army, neither Count Gyulai nor Baron Hess will be able to effect much.

He is an officer of high rank in the army, being first Aid-de-camp to the Emperor, with the rank of Lieutenant-General. He has seen much service, and is reputed to be a good soldier. Indeed, in Austria he is regarded as only second to Baron Hess, in point of power to move great masses of men, on a large theatre of war, with skill and vigor. He may yet be called to the field, for it is evident that Austria will be forced to call all her available military talent into active effort.

CHAPTER XV.

FRENCH STATESMEN—COUNT WALEWSKI—HIS RELATIONSHIP TO NAPOLEON—FRIENDSHIP WITH THE DUKE OF ORLEANS—ENTERS UPON A MILITARY CAREER—FAILURE IN THE DRAMA—SUCCESS AS AN AUTHOR—RISE IN DIPLOMACY—PRESENT POSITION—COUNT DE MORNAY, REPUTED HALF BROTHER OF LOUIS NAPOLEON—EDUCATION—HIS MILITARY CAREER—BEET SPECULATION—SHARE IN THE COUP D' ETAT—RAPID RISE—FINANCIAL SPECULATIONS—HIS APPEARANCE—DUKE OF PADUA—HIS TRADITIONAL SYMPATHIES—OFFICE—PRESENT POSITION—PERSIGNY—PRESENT POSITION—EARLY POVERTY AND STRUGGLES—AN EDITOR—STRANGE CHANGES IN POLITICS—INTRODUCTION TO LOUIS NAPOLEON—THEIR CONNECTION—POSITION IN THE REPUBLIC AND EMPIRE—MARRIAGE—REVIEW OF THE CHARACTERS OF DE MORNAY, WALEWSKI, AND PERSIGNY.

THE distinguished statesman, Count Walewski, who, since the resurrection of the Napoleon dynasty, has been so prominently before the world, is the son of Napoleon I. by a beautiful Polish woman of noble birth, "la Comtesse Walewski," and was born in 1810. He was carefully educated, and at an early age displayed great talents. With the enthusiasm of youth, he took a profound interest in the cause of Poland, and, in 1830, went to London, in order to obtain the assistance of England in restoring her liberties.

After the French Revolution of July, Walewski, who had been at college with the Duke of Orleans, at the

solicitation of the latter, entered the army, where he attained the rank of Captain of the Fourth Hussars. But Walewski's genius, spite of his descent, was not a military one, and he soon abandoned the army.

United by the ties of friendship with the Duke of Orleans, he became a *habitué* of the Prince's salon, and was thus brought into contact with the literary and artistic celebrities of the day; a society far more suited to his taste than that of camps and barracks. Walewski was destined to achieve celebrity with his pen. His first production was a political pamphlet on the African question. In conjunction with the distinguished men of the day, he founded the *Messagee*, to which journal he himself was one of the principal contributors. In conjunction with Alexandre Dumas, he wrote the play of Mlle. de Belleville, which has acquired celebrity in America through the English translation, by Fanny Kemble, under the title of "The Duke's Wager." Dazzled by his dramatic success, and probably blinded to the fact that much of it had depended on the genius and reputation of Dumas, he attempted a comedy in five acts, called the "School of the World." But, although every effort was used by the management, in the way of *mise en scene*, and though the principal actress, Mlle. Anaïs, had a *heartfelt* interest in the author, the comedy had but a *demi succès*.

In 1840, Walewski, having sold his interest in "*Le Messagee*" to M. Thiers, began his diplomatic career by a mission to Egypt. During the administration of Guizot, he accepted several other diplomatic appointments. The

Revolution of 1848 found him Attaché to the French Legation at Buenos Ayres.

Walewski's sympathies, his very blood, indicated the party to which he would belong. From the first he was a staunch supporter of Napoleon. He was for some time Ambassador at the Court of St. James, and after able negotiations with the different Powers of Europe in the difficult question of the East, he presided at the celebrated Peace Congress, in Paris, in 1856. He has, by his talents and personal devotion to the Emperor, deserved the favors which, ever since the beginning of the Empire, have been showered upon him.

Count Walewski is the father of the eldest son of Mlle. Rachel. He formally acknowledged him, and endowed him with a rich patrimony, and the title of Viscount.

Count Walewski possesses talents of a high order. His administrative abilities will be tested severely during the absence of Louis Napoleon; for he, at last, notwithstanding the seeming deposition of power in the hands of the Empress, is the back-bone of the Government at home.

To trace the origin of the Count de Morny appears like throwing from its pedestal an idol that has been worshipped as immaculate. In strict morality, no excuse can be found for his birth; but, in extenuation of poor human frailty, perhaps the description of this fascinating Princess, by Lady Blessington, a woman renowned for her beauty and her passions, may not be misplaced:

“Though prepared to meet in Hortense Bonaparte, ex-Queen of Holland, a woman possessed of no ordinary powers of captivation, she has, I confess, far exceeded my

expectations. I have seen her frequently ; and spent two hours yesterday in her society. Never did time fly away with greater rapidity, than while listening to her conversation, and hearing her sing those charming little French *romances*, written and composed by herself ; which, though I had always admired them, never previously struck me as being so expressive and graceful as they now proved to be. Hortense, or the Duchess de St. Leu, a title she took after the fall of Napoleon, until now, (1829,) is of the middle stature, slight and well formed ; her feet and ankles remarkably fine ; and her whole *tournure* graceful and distinguished. Her complexion and hair are fair, and her countenance is peculiarly expressive ; its habitual character being mild and pensive, until animated by conversation, when it becomes arch and *spirituelle*. I know not that I ever encountered a person with so fine a tact, or so quick an apprehension, as the Duchess de St. Leu. These give her the power of rapidly forming an appreciation of those with whom she comes in contact, and of suiting the subjects of conversation to their tastes and comprehensions. Thus, with the grave she is serious, with the lively, gay ; and with the scientific she only permits just a sufficient extent of her own *savoir* to be revealed to encourage the development of theirs. She is, in fact, ‘all things to all men,’ without, at the same time, losing a single portion of her own natural character ; a peculiarity of which seems to be the desire, as well as the power, of sending away all who approach her satisfied with themselves, and delighted with her. Yet there is no unworthy concession of opinions made, or tacit acquiescence yielded to conciliate popularity ;

she assents to, or dissents from, the sentiments of others, with a mildness and good sense that gratifies those with whom she coincides, or disarms those from whom she differs. The only flattery she condescends to practice is that most refined and delicate of all, the listening with marked attention to the observations of those with whom she converses; and this tacit symptom of respect to others is not more the result of an extreme politeness, than of a fine nature, attentive to the feelings of those around her.

“It is evident, that in relinquishing all the prerogatives of sovereignty, Hortense Bonaparte has not resigned those *d'une femme aimable qui veut plaire*, for she has won by her merit an empire over those who have the happiness of enjoying her society, perhaps more enviable than the Imperial one she once possessed.”

Such was the woman who, in the year 1811, became the mother of the man who bears the title of Count de Morny. His father was the Count de Flabault, a brave, handsome, dashing Aid-de-camp of the Emperor Napoleon, and a distinguished officer. At its birth, this child, who dared not claim either father or mother, was confided to his grandmother, the Countess de Souza, and educated at the Lyceé Bonaparte, where his chosen friend and companion was Edgar Ney de la Moskowa.

M. de Morny entered the army and served with great distinction in Africa, under the Duke of Orleans. He displayed a valor worthy of his origin, was severely wounded at the siege of Constantine, and received the Cross of the Legion of Honor for having saved the life of General Frezel, at the risk of his own.

Monsieur de Morny in 1838 retired from the army, and entered into political economy. He placed himself at the head of a manufactory of sugar from beet root, and wrote several pamphlets on the subject. The sugar question is one which at that time also occupied the attention and pen of the present Emperor. In 1842, M. de Morny was elected Deputy. Although he had, in many questions, voted with the Ministry under Guizot, he was considered as belonging to the liberal party, represented by "*La Presse*," and M. de Girardin.

In 1848, M. de Morny, from his birth and sympathies, was a busy agent of the Napoleon faction, and was supposed to have taken an active part in the planning and execution of the *coup d'état*, Dec. 2d., 1851. He, a thorough man of the world, renowned for his distinguished and courtly manners, possessed the most extraordinary self-possession and power of disguising his feelings. It is said, that on the 1st of December, being told by a lady at the *opera comique*, there would be a general sweep of the Assembly, he replied, affecting complete ignorance, "Indeed, then I must contrive to be near the handle, that I, too, may not be swept away." It is said, however, that on that very evening of the 1st—the evening preceding the *coup d'état*—speaking of M. de Thoriguy, whose place was already promised to him, he inadvertently made use of the past tense instead of the present, and said: "He *was* (instead of he *is*) a good Statesman."

The *coup d'état*, which made Napoleon President, made Count de Morny Minister of the Interior, or Home Department. He remained in the Cabinet until 1852, when,

apropos of a discussion with regard to the property of the Orleans family, he judged it consistent with his dignity and his personal friendships to withdraw. He, however, continued to be a member of the *corps législatif*, as the Representative of Clermont, and distinguished himself by his talents as an orator and a statesman in each successive session. In 1856, M. D. Morny was appointed Ambassador to St. Petersburg, and at the Coronation of the Emperor Alexander represented the Emperor and France with a brilliance and magnificence worthy of both.

During his residence in Russia, M. de Morny married the Princess Yousopoff, now one of the most beautiful and fashionable women in Paris. M. de Morny has dipped heavily into the rail-road speculations of the day. He was largely interested in the *Credit Mobilier* (real estate bank), and the *Mont de Piété* (state pawn and loan office), all of which speculations have enabled him to realize an immense fortune. It has been rumored on the Paris Exchange, that de Morny and the Emperor are joint speculators, profiting by the political news, which it is in their power frequently to originate or of which, at least, they are the first informed.

M. de Morny possesses one of the finest picture galleries in Europe. He is now a member of the Council of State. In person he has the look of a thorough man of fashion and distinction, resembling his mother in complexion, and having resemblance enough to the Emperor to confirm their near relationship.

The French Minister of War, at the present moment, is the Duke de Padua, another devoted partizan of the Bo-

naparte family. The Duke's family name is Arrighi. His father was a Corsican, whom Napoleon I. created Duc de Padua, who died in 1853. Arrighi, the present Duke, after remaining two years in the *Ecole Polytechnique*, retired, having little sympathy with the Orleans family, into private life until 1848, when, openly manifesting his traditional sympathies for the Bonaparte family, he was appointed *Prefet* of Versailles, and has ever since occupied important offices under Government.

M. de Persigny deserves mention, although taking no active part in the war owing to the fact of his present position as Ambassador to Great Britain, whose course, though neutral now, may at any time, from a change of events, become warlike. Besides M. Persigny is one of Louis Napoleon's oldest friends and staunchest advocates, therefore, it is to be supposed, that indirectly by his counsels, he has in some measure influenced the present course of the Emperor.

The statesman now known by the title of Persigny, is son of Captain Fialen, who was killed in 1812, at the battle of Salamanca. His youngest son Victor, born in 1808, left without any inheritance whatever, was brought up by his uncle, and placed as a free scholar, for his education, in the College of Limoges. At the age of seventeen he was admitted to the School of Cavalry at Saumur.

Victor from his early associations was a Royalist, but the influence of one of the officers at Saumur induced him so far to change his opinions, that in 1830 he took an active part in the Revolution of July, which drove the elder branch of the Bourbons from the throne. This conduct

gave offence to the authorities of the College and the young soldier was dismissed.

Without fortune, without influence, without even a profession, Victor Fialen came to Paris and obtained employment as one of the subordinate editors of "*The Temps*," a journal especially dedicated to the views and doctrines of St. Simonism. Victor Fialen was strangely fascinated by the fanciful theories of this Sect, and established himself with the Pere Enfantine, the High Priest at Menilmontant. This illusion having been dissipated, Fialen again relapsed into his Bourbon sympathies, and joined the Duchess de Berri in *La Vendée*. After the failure of her enterprise he was attached to a legitimist journal, the organ of her cause, and then, for the first time, assumed the title of *Vicomte de Persigny*, which had been long dormant in his family.

Some time after this, a great and radical change took place in the opinions of Persigny. After reading the Memorial of St. Helena, he became deeply touched by the fate of Napoleon, and profoundly convinced of his genius. "This" said Persigny in one of his articles, "is the great revelation of the eighteenth century, the true law of the modern world, and the great symbol of the Western Empires."

His articles in favor of the Bonapartists, attracted the attention of Joseph, ex-King of Spain, who gave him a letter of introduction to Louis Napoleon, his nephew, then residing at Arenberg.

From this time dates the great personal attachment which subsists between Persigny and the Emperor. From

this time, Persigny became not only a devoted but an active adherent of the Bonaparte family, straining every nerve, and expending his intellect and talents, in re-constructing the party, scattered in the four corners of the civilized world. He was Louis Napoleon's companion at Strasburg, and having been arrested at the same time as the Prince escaped only by the help of Mme. Gordon.

Nothing daunted by his first failure, and by the difficulties and privations which it had entailed on him, Persigny was found among the foremost of the Prince's adherents, at Boulogne. He was arrested with Louis Napoleon, but being of less importance than his chief, was after a few months' imprisonment, released on parole within the limits of the town of Versailles. During these days of political inactivity he wrote a curious book, entitled "The use to which the Pyramids of Egypt were destined," intended to prove that these gigantic constructions were meant as protections for the valley of the Nile against the sands of the desert.

The revolution of 1848 sounded like a tocsin in the ears of the Bonapartists. Persigny rushed into the struggle, and with untiring zeal advocating the Bonapartist's cause, prepared the favorable result of the election of the 10th of December. M. de Persigny was one of the few initiated into the secret of the *coup d'état*. On that day, placing himself at the head of the 42d regiment of the line, he took forcible possession of the hall of the Legislative Assembly.

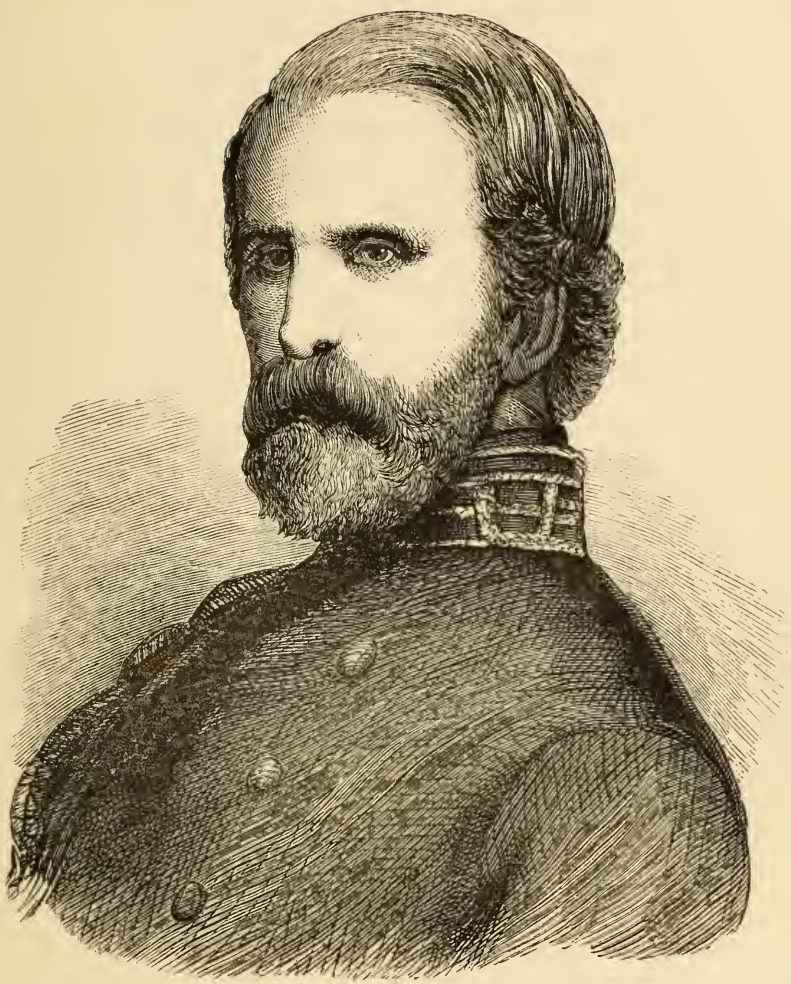
The Napoleon dynasty once again established, M. de Persigny became one of its most energetic upholders. In

1852 he succeeded De Morny as Minister of the Interior, a position which he occupied until 1854. In 1855 he was sent as Ambassador to London.

M. de Persigny married, in 1852, the only daughter of the Prince de la Moskowa (Ney); on which occasion the Emperor bestowed on him the title of Count, making him at the same time a wedding present of half a million of francs.

These three statesmen, Walewski, De Morny and Persigny, all personal friends of Napoleon, two of whom are united to him if not by legal, at least by ties of blood, have greatly contributed, first to the establishment, and next to the aggrandizement of the new Napoleonic era. They are all men of action; men who have grappled with the difficulties of life; men who have achieved their own position. Such men do not govern a people by tradition or theory, but by the experiences of their own lives, by a personal knowledge of the necessities, characters and requirements of their own times. They are men freed from prejudice, acquainted with all the progressive ideas of the age, ready for every emergency, undaunted by reverses, calm amid prosperity; men personally devoted to the Emperor, for on him hangs their own fortunes, their own importance, their own power.

Napoleon has displayed great perspicacity in the choice of his counsellors. Self-reliant, he has *believed* in the men around him who had nothing but their own intellects and firmness to advance and sustain them; he relied on them, for he knew that his cause was theirs, and that they in turn relied on him.



Gaëibaldi.

CHAPTER XVI.

DUCHY OF MODENA—BOUNDARIES—POPULATION—RESOURCES—REVENUE—
ARMY—METROPOLIS—ITS EARLY HISTORY—CONQUEST BY THE FRENCH
—ITS RETURN TO THE HAPSBURGS—ITS PRESENT RULER—HIS CHA-
RACTER—MIRANDOLA CARRARA—PRESENT POSITION OF THE DUCHY.

AMONG the Italian States whose fate is involved directly in the present Italian contest, is the Duchy of Modena, ruled over by Duke Francis V. He is allied both by blood and marriage to the House of Hapsburg. The Duchy is bounded on the North by the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces, East by the States of the Church; South by the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and Lucca; South-West by the Gulf of Genoa and West by Parma. Its area, including recent acquisitions, is 2,073 square miles. Its population in 1850 was 586,458. A more recent census, that of 1857, places it at 604,512, being 291 persons to the square mile.

The Apennines traverse a portion of the country and render it mountainous. Mount Cimone, the highest point which this range attains within the limits of Modena, is about 7,000 feet high. The climate is salubrious and healthy; the soil fertile, especially in the vallies and upon the plains. Its mineral productions consist chiefly of marble and iron. It has many medicinal springs. It is a singular fact that the wells, called now popularly Arte-

sian, were known in Modena long before they were used in Artois.

The products of the country are maize, wheat, rich wines, honey and silk.

The names of the Provinces are Carrara, Frignano, Guastalla, Garfagnana, Lunigiana, Massa, Modena and Reggio. These all have a standing army of 3,500 in time of peace. Its army, when upon a war footing, consists of 19,956—an enormous army for so small a State. This fact alone shows to what an extent the oppression of their people has been carried by the rulers of Italy; but the enormous amount of revenue raised from so small a population, equally evinces the fact. The revenue nearly ten years ago was \$1,682,200. It is reputed to have reached within that period, more than once, the sum of two millions.

The chief city, where the Court resides, is that from which the Duchy takes its name. It is finely laid out with broad and handsome streets, and has a population of over 30,000. But what is this to its library of one hundred thousand volumes, and three thousand manuscripts—volumes and manuscripts of which Muratori and Tiraboschi, the great historians of Italy, were successively the custodians.

Among these written monuments of Italy's past glory and fame, these great students had spent years upon years of their lives. There they had been imbued with that love and admiration of all that was great and noble in her chronicles and with hatred of all that was cruel and bloody. There they had caught the living inspiration which glows

and burns through their pages ; pages which mingled their own with their country's history and made them both immortal.

The Duchy of Modena came into possession of the House of d' Este in the 13th Century, through Obizzo, who, in 1288, was proclaimed Lord of Modena,—the State not having been erected into a Marquisate until nearly a century later, nor into a Duchy until 1452. The House of d' Este, however, reigned as independent Sovereigns until Hercules III., who, dying in 1803 without male issue, left his possessions to his daughter, Marie Beatrix. She married the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, then Governor (for his brother the Emperor, Francis I.,) of Milan. Modena was by Napoleon included in the Kingdom of Italy, and the Duchess of Modena, with her husband, retired to Vienna, where she died.

When the European Powers, after the great agitator was safe in St. Helena, set about putting things in their proper places, Francis I., the eldest son of Marie Beatrix, was put into possession of the inheritance she had brought as a dowry to her husband, the Archduke Ferdinand, and henceforth Modena fell into the possession of the all-grasping House of Hapsburg. Although the present Sovereigns have a distinct and positive right to reign in Modena, the influence which guides affairs is entirely Austrian. There is even existing a treaty by which the Dukes of Modena consent to the passage of the Austrian armies through their territories, and, their sojourning in them in case of war.

The present Duke of Modena, Francis V., born June

1st, 1819, son of Francis IV., and grandson of Marie Beatrix, succeeded his father in 1846. He married Aldegonde, daughter of Louis of Bavaria. His sister, Marie Therese, is married to Henri, Count de Chambord, formerly known as the Duke de Bordeaux, and recognized by his partisans as Henri V. of France. This union of the two old races of Bourbon and Hapsburg has never proved prosperous, and the effect of it would prove retrograde for the countries over which they expect to preside, should Henri ever be called to the French throne.

The policy of the Duke of Modena is the least liberal in Italy, and, individually, he is a narrow-minded tyrant, whose cruelties, persecutions, and oppressions have been completely out of proportion to the size of his possessions. He is immensely rich, grasping, and avaricious, besides being a bigot, and a man totally destitute of personal merit.

Mirandola, a strongly fortified town of Modena, belonged formerly to a great family of Condottieri, and was sold to the family of d'Este in 1711, and now forms a part of the Duchy of Modena.

Massa di Carrara, at the death of Aldaran Cibo, in 1731, fell into the hands of his daughter Maria Theresa, who, in 1741, married Hercules III., (d'Este,) Duke of Modena. She left it—having no son—to her daughter, Marie Beatrix, who in her turn brought it with Modena to her husband, the Archduke Ferdinand.

The town of Carrara, situated on the Lavenza, is renowned throughout the world for its quarries of white marble, which are also a source of incalculable wealth to the Sovereign.

It is said that the Pantheon at Rome was built of marble from these quarries. The white marble of Carrara was celebrated five centuries ago :

“E vedemmo Carrara ove la gente
Trove il candido marmo in tanta copia
Che assai n' avrebbe tutto l' oriente”——

The working of the quarries gives a peculiar feature to the town, and draws towards it many students and sculptors from whom, in 1848, numbers of volunteers were recruited for the cause of liberty, and who, probably, are only biding their time to find a fitting opportunity to join the national standard. As yet, it still adheres to its hereditary Sovereign. The reigning Duke inherited, from his father, the hatred and contempt of his subjects.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DUCHY OF PARMA — GEOGRAPHY — EXTENT — PRODUCTIONS — GOVERNMENT — ARMY — REVENUE — CHIEF CITY — UNIVERSITY AND STUDENTS — HISTORY OF ITS EARLY RULERS — HOW THE BOURBONS BECAME ITS SOVEREIGNS — ABDICATION OF DUKE CHARLES — HIS EARLY LIFE — ECCENTRICITIES — BARON WARD — EMPRESS MARIA LOUISA — HER LAST YEARS — DUKE CHARLES III. — HIS BRUTALITY — LOUISE DE BOURBON — THE REVOLUTION OF 1859.

PARMA comprises the two Duchies of Parma and Placentia and the Principality of Landi. It forms a compact State, which is bounded on the North by Austrian Italy, East by Modena, and South and West by Tuscany and Sardinia. There are 1656 square miles in Parma proper, and 1051 in Placentia, amounting to 2712 square miles in all. The whole State is enclosed by the Po and the Apennines. In the Southern part, numbers of these Apennine peaks run up to a great height. It has no navigable streams rising within its own borders. All, save the Po, which waters its Northern boundary, are rapid mountain torrents. It has a few small, isolated, but beautiful and picturesque lakes.

The air is mild and climate genial, save in some of the marshy fens bordering on the Po, where malarious exhalations arise. The lower lands are largely occupied with orchards and vineyards. The loftier ranges of hills are

covered with forest trees, the wood of which is of a very hard, durable character. The soil yields all the cereals, besides tobacco and hemp. Irrigation is largely practised here, as in Lombardy and Sardinia.

The minerals are limited, but are highly prized. The manufactures consist of silk, linen and cotton goods, paper, gunpowder, hides, tobacco, brass, earthenware, candles, soap, and a species of refined wax. Its agricultural products are cattle, hogs, nut-oil, wine and limes.

The Government is very simple in its construction. It is a pure absolutism—all power resides in the Sovereign, who is styled Duke of Parma. The Code Napoleon has been taken as the basis for the administration of the law. There can, however, be little dispensation of justice where the Judges are entirely dependant upon the sovereign will for the tenure of their office.

The army, in time of peace, amounts to 4,148 men, and when upon a war footing, to 5,672. According to the census of 1857, Parma has a population of 499,835, being a population of 233 to the square mile. The national debt of this State was, in 1854, \$2,368,000. In 1847, when Maria Louisa, the widow of Napoleon and Duchess of Parma, died, there was more than money enough in the public treasury to have paid off the State debt. But it was not then done, and the result is painfully apparent. There is yearly levied upon this population of about five hundred thousand people, between a million and a quarter and a million and a half of dollars of taxation. This is enormous, when the fact is considered that at least one-third of the whole area of the State is not susceptible of cultivation.

It is not wonderful, then, that at the prospect of a change of government, the Parmesans have revolted from the rule of the reigning family, have driven out their oppressors, and sought shelter under the Constitutional Government of Sardinia. The overthrow of Austria cannot, certainly, make their condition worse.

The capital of this Duchy is Parma, from which it derives its name. It is located upon an affluent of the Po. The distance of Parma from Milan is only seventy-two miles. In the Ducal and Public Libraries are no less than 124,000 volumes. It has various public institutions, of a most valuable and instructive character. The Archduke and his Court reside in the capital, where their Supreme Tribunal of Justice holds its sessions.

The University of Parma, so celebrated for its learning, and the immense number of students which frequented its halls formerly, was suppressed in 1831; when the professors, students, and even the janitors, were members of the society of "Young Italy." It has since been feebly replaced by a school called the School of Four Faculties. But, from the recent conduct of the students of this institution, they seem able and willing to emulate the conduct of their brothers of thirty years ago.

Parma, with Placentia, was given by Pope Paul III. to his son Pierre Farnese, in 1555, by whose descendants it was governed until the extinction of the dynasty, when Philip, King of Spain, claimed it in right of his wife, Elizabeth Farnese, and took possession of Parma, in right of his father, in 1731. It was afterwards ceded, for a short time, to the Emperor Charles VI. of Germany, and finally

merged into Napoleon's Italian conquests, and was given to his sister Eliza, who reigned there as Queen of Etruria.

By the treaty of 1815, Parma, together with Placentia and Guastalla, was erected into a Duchy and assigned to the Empress Maria Louisa for life. At her decease, in 1847, by the same treaties, Parma was to be the heritage of the Duke of Lucca, and Lucca was transferred to Tuscany. The Duke of Lucca is a Bourbon, being descended from Philip, fourth son of Elizabeth Farnese and Philip V., King of Spain, grandson of Louis XIV.; on whom, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, Parma had been settled.

The last Duke of Parma had been Duke of Lucca till December, 1847, when he succeeded Maria Louisa. The Duke was one of the most eccentric specimens of the degenerated house of Bourbon, as exemplified so terribly in Spain and at Naples.

Charles Louis de Bourbon, who was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, in 1848, was the most grotesque little tyrant that ever "played fantastic tricks before high Heaven." In his youth he rushed from capital to capital, committing the most extraordinary freaks, spending enormous sums that his poor Liliputian Kingdom had to pay, and surrounding himself with dissolute companions, of whom he afterwards made Chamberlains and officers of State. He had a great mania for theology, and by turns professed the doctrines of the Church of Rome, of Luther, and of Photius. He had in his palace a chapel in which the Greek rites were performed. Finally, however, he returned to Catholicism and spent his time with the Fran-

ciscan Monks at Camiore. This did not prevent him from cordially detesting Pius IX.

The favorite of this Prince was the notorious Thomas Ward, a Yorkshire groom, whom he took from the stables of the Duke of Modena, and elevated to the rank of Chamberlain and Prime-Minister, and to whom he finally gave the title of Baron. Ward, though a man of coarse habits, appears to have possessed the common sense of a John Bull, and to have made use of it, as far as his limited education would allow. Ward had also charge of the education of the only son of the Duke, who, unfortunately, with all the vices of his father, possessed none of his intellect, and was merely a dissipated, unprincipled, extravagant youth, who ill-treated his mother, delighted in gross language, and laughed at all authority. He was thoroughly feared and detested by his subjects, who saw his advent to power with horror.

The Parmesans had been for many years comparatively happy, under the mild government of Maria Louisa, a common-place, sensual woman, whose vices had not passed the threshold of her palace, until in her latter years, when she became exacting and avaricious. They dreaded the advent of the family of Lucca, known all over Europe for its vices, cruelties and absurdities. Maria Louisa, looked on with contempt by all devoted to the Bonapartes, was much loved in her own dominions. The Italians looked with lenient eyes on her intrigues with her one-eyed Chamberlain Count Neipperg, to whom, it is said, she was finally married. Living secluded in her palace, she was almost forgotten,—especially as no cruel or arbitrary act came to remind her subjects of her existence.

For the Duke Charles III., the pupil of Ward, the ignorant, dissolute Prince, a man of many vices and low tastes, a wife was found in the person of one of the most accomplished and distinguished Princesses of Europe, Louise de Bourbon, the eldest child of the Duc de Berri, and the grand-daughter of Charles X. This Princess, born in Paris in 1819, had been almost entirely educated by her aunt, the unfortunate Duchess D' Angouleme, daughter of Marie Antoinette.

Her mother, the Duchess de Berri, by her marriage with the Count Lucchese Palli, having alienated herself from her family, the Princess was brought up at the Court of Austria, and of course in all the traditionary principles of the two most anti-progressive races of Princes in all Europe,—the Bourbons and Hapsburgs. Her marriage with the Duke Charles, her cousin, could therefore not be conducive to the happiness of her subjects, and certainly was not calculated to insure her own. This union was terminated by the assassination of her husband, by an Italian patriot, on March 26, 1854. Since that time the Duchess of Parma has been Regent of the dominions for her son Robert I., born in 1848.

On the first outbreak of the present war, the Duchess-Regent left Parma with her children, and the Duchy has since been in the hands of a Provisional Government.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GRAND DUCHY OF TUSCANY—THE RECENT REVOLUTION—PRINCE NAPOLEON AT LEGHORN—HIS PROCLAMATION—EXTENT OF THE DUCHY—POPULATION—GEOGRAPHY—PRODUCTIONS—ELBA—GOVERNMENT—TRADE—REVENUE—ARMY—THE CITY OF FLORENCE—ITS PALACES—PITTI—MEDICIS—HOW TUSCANY CAME UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF AUSTRIA—LEOPOLD II.—1848—HIS CONDUCT THEN AND SINCE—A PROCLAMATION—CITY OF LEGHORN—ITS APPEARANCE—PISA—HER PRESENT CONDITION—POPULATION.

THE most important of the States of Central Italy, which has voluntarily become involved in the present war, is the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. The Florentines rose and expelled their Duke, and sent to Victor Emanuel for a Governor to take his place. This Governor is to rule temporarily, or until the end of the war, when the internal administration of the Duchy will be reconstituted. Indeed, upon so firm a basis has the revolution been established, that Prince Napoleon has landed, at the head of a body of French troops, at Leghorn. In a proclamation, he quiets any alarm the Tuscans may have felt at this demonstration, by declaring that his purposes are of a purely military character, and that he will in no wise interfere with their civil affairs. In this disavowal of any purpose of conquest and permanent occupation, is plainly perceptible the shrewd sagacity of the Emperor. Had

it not been made, the other States of Italy which have not yet given any open demonstration against the Austrians, might have been deterred in their purpose, had they discovered they were only to fight for a change of masters.

This important State has no less than 8,586 square miles of territory; according to a census taken in 1858 it has a population of 1,793,967. In 1852, the population was 1,778,021. The increase then in its population has only been 15,956 in the space of six years, when there was no war in Italy to devastate her territories and occasion a waste of human life. This fact speaks volumes relative to the exacting tyranny under which the country has groaned. This slight increase cannot be accounted for upon the ground of emigration; for the Tuscans are proverbially opposed to leaving their country unless compelled.

The Duchy is bounded Westwardly by the Mediterranean; North-Westwardly, by Modena and Sardinia; on the North, by Modena, Parma, and Sardinia; and to the East and South by the Papal States. It has about 150 miles of sea coast, upon which there is more than one fine harbor; much of it is low, being covered with maremma, or swamps. Through the interior runs the Arno, so celebrated in story and song, with its wide, rich, fertile valley smiling and glowing in abundant fulness beneath a radiant sun. Within its limits the Apennines do not attain near the loftiness to which their peaks ascend in Parma and Modena. They are quite modest, not stretching themselves up more than 4,200 feet: they, on an average, have an altitude of 1900 feet. About one-half of the

territory is under cultivation, and its productions are very great. The other half of the territory consists of natural pasture land, or of forest. One-third of the tillable land is covered with vineyards; one-twelfth of the whole superficial area with olive-yards, orchards, gardens, and meadows. The favorite crops are maize and wheat. On the flat marshy lands a vast deal of rice is grown. The crops of less importance are barley, rye, and pulse.

There is annually a deficiency in the supply of bread stuffs. This is partially made up by importations from abroad, and by the domestic use of the chestnut. There need not be any such deficiency were an improved method of culture adopted by the Tuscan farmers.

The manufacture of oil and the raising of silk attract a good deal of attention. There are about 250,000 pounds per year, of the latter article produced in Tuscany.

The Island of Elba, once the home and Kingdom of the great Emperor, belongs to the Grand Duchy. It has been famous, in all ages, for its production of iron.

The Government, like those of Parma and Modena, is a purely absolute one. The will of the Monarch is the only standard of right, and the only test of justice. It is true there are forms which the people may observe in the administration of law; for there are Courts which pretend to pronounce decisions. But the bulwark of personal liberty, the trial by jury, is unknown. It is an institution which has never yet been planted vigorously upon Italian soil.

The trade of Tuscany is not very great. What it possesses chiefly goes through Leghorn. The commercial shipping, which passed through that port in 1853, com-

prised 126 square-rigged vessels, and 911 small vessels, chiefly coasting craft.

The public debt of Tuscany is stated at \$6,900,000. Its revenue, in 1853, amounted to \$5,649,184. During the same year the army was estimated at 15,376. In 1858, the number of its soldiers was 17,205. This statement of the amount of her revenue and the size of her army indicates clearly the extent to which the people of this small State have been misgoverned. They desire any change, even a change of masters. It is no wonder, then, that they have sought shelter under the wing of Sardinia, and expelled the petty tyrant who has reigned over them since 1824.

Firenza la Bella is situated in a lovely, fertile, and flowery plain, through the centre of which flows the Arno. The beauties of Florence, the luxuriant fertility of its soil, are too renowned to need description. Florence, the city, is an imposing mass of palaces, a city of individual force, where every palace seems literally to have been its lord's castle, and to have been constructed and fortified for resistance and defence. In a Republic consisting of nobles and merchant princes such strongholds were frequently brought into requisition.

The Palazzo Pitti, in which the royal family now reside, was built by a merchant name Luc Pitti, and is the largest edifice ever built by a private citizen. His wealth, of course, excited the envy of the Medicis, and after the death of Cosmo, Pietro de Medicis seized upon it, and it has ever since belonged to the rulers of Florence. It contains the celebrated Pitti gallery, whilst in the Palazzo

Vecchio is the gallery of the Medicis, scarcely less valuable.

Until 1527, Florence under the title of the Florentine Republic, was governed by Magistrates, amongst whom were the renowned Medici, the last branch of which expired in 1737.

After his death, Don Carlos of Spain, was named Grand Duke of Tuscany; but the treaty of Vienna, of 1735, having conferred on Don Carlos the sovereignty of the two Sicilies, Tuscany was given to François de Lorraine, Duc de Bar, who had married Maria Theresa of Austria, a daughter of Charles VI.

Hence the influence of Austria over Tuscany. The present Grand Duke, who also bears the title of Archduke of Austria, is a son of a brother of the Emperor Francis I., the contemporary of Napoleon I. He married a Princess of Saxony, who died in 1832, leaving him one daughter. In 1833, he married Marie Antoinette, daughter of Francis I., King of Naples, by whom he has had six children.

The hereditary Grand Duke of Tuscany, Prince Ferdinand, who is in the Austrian service, accompanies the Emperor of Austria in the Italian campaign. In the outbreak of 1848, the Duke of Tuscany, greatly intimidated, made a proclamation, in which he declared that "the period for the regeneration of Italy had arrived," and in order to contribute his share to this regeneration, he offered a constitution to his subjects. This, however, did not prevent his flying with the Pope to Gaeta, where he remained until the defeat of the Italian patriots. When an end was put

to the war of Independence, full sway was restored to the Austrian bayonets.

On his return, probably owing to the influence the Pope acquired over him in his exile, and perhaps in revenge for the exceeding fright he had received, he became more illiberal than ever, contriving to frustrate the maintenance of the Constitution, and sinking himself into abject bigotry and cruelty. His persecution of the Madiari for reading the Bible to a Catholic servant, and for having the sacred volume in their house, will sufficiently characterize him.

At the first outbreak of the war, the Grand Duke Leopold II. retired from his dominions, and the Tuscans have placed themselves under the protection of Victor Emanuel, who is now Lieutenant of the Kingdom. The King of Sardinia has sent to the Tuscans his son-in-law, Prince Napoleon, and has issued the following proclamation :

“Tuscan Soldiers.—On the first report of a national war you sought a Captain to lead you against the enemies of Italy. I accepted the command, it being my duty to give order and discipline to all the forces of the nation. You are no longer soldiers of an Italian Province—you form part of the Italian army. Judging you worthy of fighting by the side of the brave soldiers of France, I place you under the orders of my beloved son-in-law, Prince Napoleon, who has been intrusted by the Emperor of the French with important military operations. Obey him as you would obey me. His thoughts and affections are the same as mine and those of the generous Emperor who has descended into Italy as the champion of a just cause, and the defender of our national rights. Soldiers! the days of bold efforts have arrived. I count upon you; you must uphold and increase the honor of Italian arms.

“VICTOR EMANUEL.”

The principal sea port of the Tuscan dominions is Liv-

orno, or Leghorn, on the Mediterranean, about forty-five miles from Florence. This city owes its prosperity to the Medicis, who wisely understood the importance of a port possessed of easy access to the Levant, and opening to Tuscany the trade of the whole world. Leghorn almost equals in extent the capital city, Florence; but, unlike Florence, which is the art-museum of the world, it is wholly deficient in any thing but what appeals to real life and commercial interests. Still, Leghorn has a physiognomy of her own, from the extraordinary mixture of its population. Arabs, Turks and Jews from the Levant, Americans, Englishmen, Russians and Spainards, all in their national costumes, crowd her streets and her port.

The third city of Tuscany in importance is Pisa, which was once a sea-port, by means of the Arno, (as London is by the Thames,) but the alluvium deposited through many years by the river, has taken this advantage from her. Once it was a Republic, and rivalled Genoa in riches and prosperity. But abandoned by the sea, decimated by plague, famine, and earthquake, besides being perpetually assailed by the petty Princes of Italy, Pisa subsided into an insignificant Power, retaining nothing but her climate, position, and mineral baths, to distinguish her, or to attract strangers towards her.

The Pisans possess the characteristics of a subdued race. They are gentle, affable, and hospitable, and have taken no active part in the war of Independence, and did not express themselves openly, as dissatisfied with the Austrian rule. There is a railroad from Leghorn to Pisa, and thence to Florence.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WAR—EVENTS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING—ITALIAN DISPOSITION TO CONSPIRACY—MAZZINI—REMONSTRANCES OF THE WESTERN POWERS—DECLARATION OF THE EMPEROR—DEBATE BETWEEN PALMERSTON AND D' ISRAELI—AUSTRIA AND SARDINIA ARMING—SPEECH OF COUNT CAVOUR—ENGLAND'S INTERPOSITION—LORD COWLEY—SKETCH OF HIM—WHAT CONDITIONS COUNT BUOL WOULD ACCEPT—RUSSIA PROPOSES A PEACE CONGRESS—THE FIVE GREAT POWERS CONSENT—SUDDEN INVASION OF SARDINIA BY AUSTRIA—THE FRENCH HASTEN TO THE ASSISTANCE OF VICTOR EMANUEL.

FOR years past, ever since 1849, there have been constant popular outbreaks in various portions of Italy. Indeed, it may be said, with entire truthfulness, there has not been a moment when a conspiracy against some of the ruling powers, either in an embryonic, a partially complete, or full-fledged form, has not existed. Such a conspiracy has not always necessarily broken into open rebellion. But the Italians have always possessed secret means of conveying intelligence, of discovering any fresh outrage their rulers have entertained the idea of perpetrating upon humanity, or the power of secreting conspicuous rebels or outlaws, for months together, despite the hosts of soldiers, spies, and sbirri, employed by their tyrants. This disposition to conspiracy has been kept alive because men naturally seek some method of avenging deadly

wrongs and of getting rid of those who commit them. But the active head, he in whom all these plots centre, from whom they radiate, their originator, constructor, and manager is Guiseppe (Joseph) Mazzini.

For thirty years he has not let the tyrants of the Peninsula rest. Twice, since his able and manly government of Rome, has he made descents upon Italy, but they were either premature, or those whom he expected to assist him most materially, were found wanting at the last moment. He has displayed sufficient activity to keep the eyes of all the oppressed in Italy upon him, as one to whom they would naturally look for advice and consolation in the hour of need.

The rulers of Italy themselves have been so terribly cruel and barbarous in their treatment of their subjects, as to have called for the interference of the great Western European Powers in the way of friendly remonstrance. This was true in the case of both Naples and Rome. Even Austria has been dragged before the tribunal of the civilized world for her conduct in Italy, and dared not enter the plea of "Not Guilty." She entered a special demurrer to the jurisdiction of the court.

The continued joint armed occupation of the States of the Church by Austria and France has proved another source of irritation. Those two powers, with the hate of centuries smouldering in their breasts, are not likely to stand armed, face to face, within the same foreign territory, and not have continued causes for a renewal of their hate occurring.

This and other causes of rivalry led the Emperor of

France, at his reception, on last New Year's day, to declare to Baron Hübner, the Austrian Ambassador, in most emphatic language, his disapproval of the conduct of his Imperial Master. The words of disapproval were so marked in their tone, their utterance so unusual as to time and place, that they created a decided sensation in the political and diplomatic world. Stocks fell. All the Bourses and Exchanges in Europe witnessed countenances white with anxiety. Attempts were made everywhere in the financial world to realize. Grave Ministers shook the wigs of state with solemnity, and felt oracular. In short, so great a jar did this occurrence create among financial and commercial interests, that Louis Napoleon felt it to be necessary to assure the French Legislative body, that "he believed the disagreements with Austria could be amicably settled."

This declaration was made on the 7th of February. It had but a partially reassuring effect. This was evinced by a debate which took place in the British Parliament. In that debate Lord Palmerston and D'Israeli were the principal speakers. The argument of each pointed to the conclusion that there was great danger of a collision between the troops of France and Austria within the limits of the Papal States. The Chancellor of the Exchequer declared that he had received assurances that the troops of both should be withdrawn. Neither of these statesmen seemed to imagine that there was any other immediate point of collision. Both forgot, or ignored, the standing causes of difference in the Austro-Sardinian quarrel.

But the conduct of Austria and Sardinia showed that

all the wise judgments of men who, from their position, ought to have been able to foresee events so near in the future, were utterly at war with the facts. During the months of January and February, Austria kept pouring large masses of men into Italy, under the command of her very best Generals. She collected five thousand laborers, from all parts of Italy, to assist in the construction of three immense new forts, at Venice. These forts were to be finished within six weeks from the time of their commencement.

Meanwhile, Sardinia was not idle. Count Cavour asked for a loan of \$10,000,000. There was a long debate in the Sardinian Chambers upon the subject of granting it. In closing that debate Count Cavour observed :

“Austria has lately assumed a menacing attitude toward us. She has increased her military forces at Placentia.* She has collected very large forces upon our frontiers. Therefore the necessity arises for us to look to the means for the defence of the State. The English alliance has been the constant care of our whole political life. We have always considered England as the impregnable asylum of liberty. The cries of suffering coming from Bologna and Naples reach the banks of the Thames; the tears and groans of Milan are intercepted by the Alps and the Austrians; but the cause of liberty, justice, and civilization will always triumph. As for England, Lord Derby will not

*Placentia is a town of the Duchy of Parma, which latter was nominally an Independent Sovereignty of Central Italy ere the present war broke out. Austria has had armed occupation, for years, of part of her territories, contrary to treaty stipulations.

tarnish his glory in making himself the accomplice of those who condemn the Italians to perpetual servitude.

“Our policy is not defiant; we will not excite to war; neither will we lower our voice when Austria arms herself and threatens us.”

The great Sardinian statesman has so far been mistaken in his prediction as to the course which England would take in this war. If he calculated upon a return for the services rendered by Sardinia in the Crimean campaign, he is counting indeed without his host. England guaranteed Sardinia a loan of \$10,000,000, with which to carry on the campaign before Sebastopol; and certainly that is a sufficient requital for the services of that State to the allies.

But England has gone farther. She interposed her friendly offices between the belligerents to get them to consent to forego the contest. Lord Cowley, the British Minister, resident at Paris, went to Vienna, to see what conditions Austria would accept. The selection of Lord Cowley was perhaps the best which England could have made. He understands thoroughly the politics of Germany. He has served successively at Vienna, at the Hague, at Stuttgart, and as Minister Extraordinary near the Germanic Diët. He had also been for many years at Constantinople, and had been accredited to Switzerland. He had made the politics of central Europe, for a long period, his especial study. For the last seven years he has resided at the Court of Napoleon. Clarendon was assisted by him at the Peace Congress of 1856.

Lord Cowley is a nephew of the Duke of Wellington,

and a son of Lord Wellesly. He was born in 1804, and is therefore fifty-five years of age. To moderate intellectual powers, he has added a vast deal of experience, arising from varied study and intercourse with men.

His mission was undertaken with the entire consent and approbation of the French Government. The first object to be attained was the ascertainment of what points involved in the discussion the two Governments could agree upon, and wherein they differed. This was necessary to a clear understanding of the complications which had arisen.

Count Buol, it is said, was willing to withdraw the Imperial troops from Rome as soon as the French army was withdrawn; he would join with the other great European powers, in addressing such advice and remonstrance, as would be likely to procure an amelioration of the hardships and sufferings inflicted by the Supreme Pontiff upon his temporal subjects; he disavowed any intention upon the part of the Emperor to march his army into Piedmont, and avowed that Austria was willing to join France and England in every proper effort to remove those difficulties, which threatened the peace of Italy and Europe. Such declarations seem to pave the way for putting a termination to the difficulties by negotiation.

During the absence of Lord Cowley the Russian Ambassador at Paris had proposed to the French Government to call a general Congress of the Great Powers, and that France should take the initiative in proposing it to the other Powers. France consented to the necessity for a call, but urged that propriety required her to decline making the proposition, declaring that Russia could do so

without having her motives impugned or her intentions suspected. The proposition was at once promptly acceded to by England and Prussia, and at a later period Austria gave a reluctant adhesion.

The details and composition of the Congress were not formally agreed upon. Lord Malmesbury expressed in his place in the House of Lords his confidence that the prevailing peace would not be broken; that though there might not be a formal disarmament of the hostile forces, they would refrain from attack during the sessions of the Congress; that when the Congress met the question of Italian reform should be discussed, and that the different States of the Peninsula would be heard, although they would not perhaps be allowed to vote upon the various questions relative to their interests.

The belief that a Congress would be held was so great, that some went so far as to indicate Baden as the place for the meeting. It is probable however, that the place of meeting was never formally discussed between the great Powers.

Meanwhile, France was accused of increasing her forces and of arming them with great rapidity. • The *Moniteur*, the official organ of the Emperor declared that :

“The regular effective force of the peace footing which had been adopted two years ago, had not been exceeded.”

It also made similar explanations concerning the extraordinary activity manifested in the foundries, arsenals and dock-yards. These declarations did but little to quiet the European mind, for with them came linked from the same official source the declaration that the Emperor :

“had promised the King of Sardinia to defend him against any aggressive act on the part of Austria. He has promised this and nothing more: and it is well known he keeps his word.”

Austria had not been idle; she had by the middle of April 230,000 men in Italy. Nor had Sardinia relaxed her preparations. She had placed a regular army upon a war footing, and called out her National Guard. Austria pretended to take mortal offence at this arming of the Sardinian reserves. She formally made a demand of the latter Power to disarm them and gave her but three days to comply with the proposition. Victor Emanuel promptly and decidedly refused. Austria within four days after this began to pour her legions from Lombardy into Piedmont.

This sudden irruption of the Austrian forces took all Europe by surprise. It was declared upon all hands, that the Austrians designed to overwhelm the small Sardinian Army in detail, ere the French could arrive, take Turin, overrun the country, and occupy all its strongholds.

Louis Napoleon saw at once the peril of his ally. He was fully equal to the crisis. Troops were set in motion for Italy in every direction; the veterans of Africa were called from the fields where they had won so much glory, the Imperial Guard left Paris; the troops of the line were transported by every available means toward Savoy until the overwhelming numbers of the Austrians ceased to be terrible.

CHAPTER XX.

THE FRENCH AND AUSTRIAN ARMIES—THEIR NAVIES—FRENCH PRIZES—
THE ZOUAVES—HISTORY OF THEIR ORIGIN—MARSHAL CLAUZEL—THE
DUKE OF ORLEANS—THE APPEARANCE OF THE ZOUAVE—ZOUAVES IN
ITALY—ANECDOTES—THE THIRD REGIMENT—THE TURCOS—GENERAL
YUSSUP—TURCOS ENCAMPMENT—NOTICE OF GENERAL BOURBAKI—
THE CROATS—THEIR CHARACTER—TYROLESE SHARPSHOOTERS—THEIR
ACTIONS IN ITALY—HOW THE FRENCH SOLDIER IS FED—CHANGES IN
THE FRENCH MILITARY COSTUMES.

EVERYTHING relative to the military force of Austria and France is of importance, for each separate element goes to make a sum total of power which will go far toward determining the result of the war. In order to insure accuracy of information, all the facts which can be collated should be given.

The army of France, on what is called the peace-footing, is estimated at 409,000 men of all ranks and grades of service. When upon a war-footing it is raised to 750,000. The troops upon the peace-footing comprise 247,641 Infantry, 65,407 Cavalry, and 34,262 Artillery. The other subdivisions of the army are not important enough to deserve mention.

The army of Austria, in time of peace, consists of a force of 348,158, embracing one hundred and sixty-nine regiments and five hundred and thirty general officers of

various ranks. In time of war it is raised to 676,104 men, but a much greater force may be raised. France and Austria, upon a desperate emergency, can bring a million or more combatants into the field.

There is a much greater disparity, however, in their naval forces. Austria is by no means a first class maritime Power. She has but three sea-ports of any importance, Fiume, Trieste and Venice, and these are all on the Adriatic. She has in all but one hundred and thirty-five vessels of war. Of these, twenty-seven are steamers, most of which are small. They carry altogether about eight hundred and fifty guns, whilst France has two hundred and nine sailing-vessels, and two hundred and fifty-two steamers, carrying a total of 12,520 guns, with 36,629 sailors and 19,987 marines.

It appears then that whilst there is almost an equality of numbers in their land forces, there is the utmost disparity in their marine. The Austrian fleet will be forced to remain under cover of the guns of its maritime fortresses during the entire war. It dare not venture out to sea. Already it is reported that the French Squadrons in the Adriatic and Levant are sweeping the Austrian merchant navy from those seas. A few cruisers have captured no less than thirty merchantmen within four weeks, whose value is estimated at 4,000,000 of francs, or about \$800,000 in our currency.

Numbers do not alone constitute the power of an army in the field. The skill and strategic sagacity of the Commanders, the strictness of the discipline, the efficiency of the drill, and the *esprit de corps* of the soldiers impart true energy and vigor to its movements and operations.

Hence it is that some particular corps, or body of men in an army always enjoys a higher reputation for courage, firmness, and other military qualities than any of their fellow-soldiers. Thus some of the Swiss, Spanish and more recently the British Infantry, have enjoyed European reputations, whilst none of their fellows acquired more than the position of an ordinary military corps.

At present the Zouaves elicit more public attention than any other corps in the French Army. The Imperial Guard is now lost sight of. A history of the origin of this corps is curious and instructive.

When the French took Algiers, they found a corps of six thousand Turks, who had been employed as a sort of personal guard by the reigning Powers. The people stood much in awe of this foreign guard, who expressed their willingness to enter the service of the conquerors, notwithstanding which, the French officers in command, doubting their fidelity, disbanded the troop. General Clauzel, however, soon found that this had been an error, and he strove to repair it as quickly as possible. Ignorant as the French were of the language of their country, of its customs, of its warfare, and unused to its climate, it was necessary that there should be a native regiment in whom the French could confide. Amongst the Arab tribes was one called the Kabyles, a sort of oriental condottieri, who, like the Swiss, served any country for pay. They were ferocious soldiers, well drilled and well disciplined. Clauzel sending for the Chief of these barbaric warriors, from his retreat in the ravines of Jurjura, enlisted his services and those of his men, and formed

them into two battalions. In the native language the Kabyle troop was called *Zouaoua*, whence the transformation to Zouave was easy and far more suited to European lips.

In this corps Clauzel prudently incorporated as many French volunteers as offered. The revolution which followed so close on the taking of Algiers had given the French ouvrier a taste for fighting, so that the French element in the new corps consisted almost entirely of the gay and reckless *enfants de Paris*.

From the moment the Parisian element prevailed in this division, it was no wonder that it became renowned for its gaiety, its bravery and its daring exploits. There are many anecdotes told of their adventures, as well as of their wit. So well had they imitated the Arabian costume and manner, that it was impossible to distinguish them from the natives.

One evening during the campaign of Mascara, in 1836, after a hot skirmish with the troops of Ab-del-Kader, in which the Zouaves had distinguished themselves, the Duke of Orleans standing conversing with his Staff, was startled by the appearance of a Zouave, bearing in his hand the bleeding head of an Arab, newly severed from the trunk, which the soldier laid at his feet. Turning to an officer, long resident in Algiers, the Duke asked for an explanation.

"It means," replied the officer, "that every native soldier, who brings such a trophy as this, is entitled to a special reward."

"Very well," replied the Duke, "give him this gold piece, and ask him to what tribe he belongs."

The soldier tossing up his louis d'or with a Parisian twist and a military salute, exclaimed:

"I belong, Your Highness, to a tribe devoted to your service. My name is Bertrand, and I am an Arab, from the Place de la Bastille."

In 1839, the natives in these regiments, following the appeal of Ab-del-Kader, whom they looked on as a prophet as well as a leader, deserted in a body, carrying with them, to the advantage of the enemy, all the military science they had acquired in the French service.

The native deserters were replaced by French volunteers, and the Zouaves retained nothing Arabic but their costume.

They are the bravest and most daring of all the French army; their exploits in Algiers are almost fabulous, and their conduct in the Crimea merited them the admiration of all Europe.

There is a reckless gaiety amongst them, an utter unconsciousness of danger, and a thorough love of fighting, that invests them with peculiar interest. There can be no doubt that the Zouaves will be amongst the most distinguished soldiers in Italy.

The Zouave is in Italy as he was in the Crimea, an object of great interest. He wears a sort of fez cap, with a roll of cloth at the base to protect the head; a jacket of blue cloth, with red facings decorated with some simple ornaments, and open in front so as to display his throat; and a waistcoat or undercoat of red comes down to his hips. Round his waist, a broad silk sash is folded several times, to support the back. His pantaloons of

scarlet cloth, fit close over the hips, and then expand in Dutchman-like dimensions till they are gathered just below the knee in loose, bagging folds ; so that they look somewhat like a kit. From the ankle to the knee, the leg is protected by a kind of greaves, made of stout yellow embroidered leather, down to the back, and descending over the shoe. The whole costume is graceful, easy and picturesque. The men are generally smart young fellows, about five feet six inches in height ; their faces burnt to a deep copper tint, by the rays of an African sun, and wearing the most luxuriant beards, mustaches and whiskers.

This body of men have proven their courage and high state of discipline, more than once since the beginning of the Italian campaign. One regiment of them attacked an Austrian battery at Palestro, which was covered by a deep canal in front, and placed upon an eminence of considerable height, and took it at a single dash. That regiment had over four hundred men killed and wounded, but they shattered the Austrian column into fragments, and drove four hundred of them into a deep canal, where they were drowned.

A letter in the *Journal des Débats*, referring to the Zouaves, says:—"One fact will give an idea of the incomparable African troops, with whom the Austrians are not yet acquainted. For six months the 3d Regiment of Zouaves has been on campaign ; since the 15th of October the men have not slept fifteen nights in barracks ; three or four weeks ago they were at Tuggart ; they were embarked at almost a moment's notice, and since their arrival

at Piedmont have been encamped in the midst of rain ; and yet the regiment has not ten men sick."

They professionally despise warfare at long shot. In a skirmish with an advanced Austrian column, they threw away cartouches and sprung forward at the enemy with the bayonet. After the affair was over their officers reproved them for throwing them away. The soldiers replied with nonchalance, that there was no occasion to display any anger, for they would go over the late battle field, and get six Austrian cartouches for every one they had lost.

When they landed at Genoa they found oranges abundant, and as they thought cheap, at a cent a piece. They bought large quantities of them and piled them as cannon balls are piled, in pyramids. In a few days they had formed the acquaintance of the nursery maids, who were in the habit of frequenting the public gardens in great numbers, and accompanied them just as familiarly as they would have done at the Luxemburg or Tuilleries. It was nothing unusual to see a scion of Genoese nobility strutting about in childish pride, wearing the cap of a Zouave. By this intercourse they became acquainted with the real price of oranges, and found that they were retailed five for a cent. As soon as this discovery became generally known, they made a descent upon the orange stands and compelled the owners to vend them at the rate of six for a cent.

Ere other detachments of their fellow soldiers arrived, they had transferred their oranges to the quay, and when they began to land they were pelted in most approved

style. So sharp a shower of oranges descended upon them they did not know but they had met an Austrian Corps d'Armée.

The following is a translation of a letter written by a Zouave, at Genoa, to his sister:

“My Dear Sister:—This is to inform you that I have arrived in good health at Genoa, having suffered nothing but a little sea-sickness; for which reason, the next time I undertake a sea-voyage I shall go by land. We have much better quarters here than at Sebastopol, seeing that the houses are all built of marble—like the gray marble mantels in Paris, except that here it is white.

Now for our reception, that was a stunner, feasting all round. As for the fair sex, I am not afraid to say their reception was most flattering. As soon as the Austrians are beaten, if you dont see me come back, you may conclude that I am married here, and turned wine merchant; seeing that the liquids are devilish good, and plenty of them. Besides, I shall be glad to contribute free children to emancipated Italy.

GROUCHARD, (surnamed)

The Invincible Bayonet.”

Whilst they were in Genoa, they frequented one wine shop more than all the others. It was kept by a retired Zouave, who thoroughly knew their peculiarities. He had placed in front of his door the figure of a Zouave, sitting quietly smoking. Two immense Austrian grenadiers are rushing at him with levelled bayonets; one of them is exclaiming, “Why the devil don't the little Frenchman move?”

The Frenchman replies, "What's the use? there are not six of you."

There is another corps of the French Army that is very peculiar. They are commonly called Turcos, and the corps is composed of native Africans. Those now in Italy are commanded by a Bedouin Arab, who has risen to the rank of General. His name is Yussup. They are reported to be a set of fiends, worse than the Austrian Croats. When at Algiers, before they embarked for Italy, they broke loose from all constraint, overran the Jewish part of the town, although the race of Abraham had barricaded the approaches to their houses for fear of them, and committed all sorts of pillaging and plundering. They were only stopped from the greatest excesses by the presence of a regular force.

They are riflemen, and serve as *tirailleurs*. Indeed, they are often called the Algerian sharp-shooters. Their attire is similar to that of the Zouaves, and like them, they are distinguished for their bold, dashing qualities. The celebrated Tyrolese sharp-shooters, of the Austrian service, do not excel them in accuracy of practice, nor are their guns of longer range.

The following description of a Turcos' encampment near Genoa, will serve to throw some light upon their habits, as well as the interest they excited whilst there.

"The camp is pitched in one of the pretty spots, which appear like an earthly paradise, in the valley of Polcevera. This valley, which is reached after passing through the suburb of San Pier d'Arena, which contains some palaces not less splendid than those in Genoa, is hemmed in by

four small hills covered with orange, lemon, pomegranate trees, and cactuses. The Turcos are a very fine specimen of the Arab race; some of the native officers, in particular, are, in spite of their dark skins, remarkable for their regular features. The white turban is admirably suited to their energetic heads, and they wear with ease and grace the large jacket and the wide trousers, closely fastened above the hips. There is in all their rapid movements an elasticity which more resembles that of the feline than the human race. In the games in which they indulge, in order to prevent the *ennui* of inactivity, they bound about like so many tigers. Almost all of them speak French with a drawling and guttural accent, which is not, however, at all disagreeable. The other night, one battalion of the Turcos struck their tents and left for Pontedecimo; the others left about the 3rd instant. After the Aquasola, which is the favorite promenade of Genoa, the road which leads to the camp of the Turcos has been, during the encampment, the most frequented walk of the Genoese."

Among the bold, energetic leaders of Division, which the Zouave campaigns in Algiers and the Crimea have brought into notice, is General Bourbaki. He is the son of a Polish exile, and was born in 1816. He is therefore but forty-three, and is the youngest General of Division in the French service. He is, at present, serving immediately under Canrobert, his old leader in Africa. In early life, he had the good fortune to attract the attention of General Rumigny, Aid-de-camp to Louis Philippe, who took charge of his education. The rest, he has done for himself.

In many an advance and retreat, before many a battery, and in many a mountain pass, has he displayed his wonderful coolness, courage and skill. The *Courier de Paris* relates, that at the siege of Zaatcha, a city of Algiers, "he headed a storming party, with entire success, wearing white kid gloves and patent leather boots. He brandished a small cane in his hand, and marched up to the cannons with a segar between his teeth!"

The English Generals spoke in the highest terms of his services at Inkerman. During almost the whole of the siege of Sebastopol, he was present wherever the post of danger was, and with him it was always the post of honor. He is universally regarded in Paris, and in the army, as the most promising of the younger class of French Generals. To him was entrusted the proud distinction of leading the first division of the French troops into Sardinia.

There is a corps in the Austrian army which deserves especial notice. They are known, distinctively, as the Croats, of whom about twenty thousand are now serving in Italy. They come from Croatia, a Province of the Austrian Empire. Their Ban Jellachich, who died some weeks since, distinguished himself in 1848, by heading the reactionary party in Austria, and assisting Francis Joseph to reduce his revolted Provinces to subjection.

The Croats have long served as light troops in the Austrian army. Their name has become a by-word and terror, wherever the double-headed eagle of Austria has been borne. The Italians hate them with a ferocious intensity, as also do the Hungarians. One who saw a corps

of them in 1850 thus describes, in a somewhat exaggerated style of praise, their costume and appearance :

“There is a something half Albanian in some portions of the costume ; in the leggings and full trousers, fastened at the knee ; and in the heavily gold-embroidered, crimson jacket. But that which gives their decided character, their extraordinary originality, to these sons of war, is the cloak. Over these giant frames hangs a mantle of scarlet cloth, fastened tightly at the throat ; below this, on the breast, depends the clasp of the jacket, a large silver egg, made so as to open and serve as a cup. In the loose girdle are to be seen the richly mounted pistols and glittering kandjar — Turkish arms mostly — for every Croat is held, by old tradition, to win his first weapon from the Turk. The mantle has a cape cut somewhat in the shape of a bat’s wings ; but which, joined together by hooks and eyes, forms a sharp-pointed hood, somewhat resembling those of the Venetian *Marinari*, but higher and more peaked. Over the crimson cap, confined by a gold band upon the brow, falling with a gold tassel on the shoulder, rises this red hood, overshadowing their faces.”

Another class of Austrian troops much more distinguished for their humanity than the Croats, as well as for their distinction in arms, are the Tyrolese sharp-shooters. They have ever been remarkable for their fealty to the House of Hapsburg. The French in Napoleon’s palmiest days, led by his best Marshals, were never able to subdue these loyal mountaineers, under their gallant leader, Hofer.

The following description of the action of the Tyrolese

sharp-shooters in Italy at the present time, taken from a high French authority, is worthy of a place here:

“It is said that they harass the French videttes and outposts incessantly. Day and night, it is said, their shots are whistling through the air. The ground on the other side of the Po affords them a good cover, and they are ever on the watch. The other day General Renault (a French General of Division), went out to reconnoitre, attended by his Aid-de-camp, and followed by a trumpeter a few paces behind. The General thought himself beyond range, but while he was looking about him a sharp ‘thug’ was heard, and the poor trumpeter fell forward mortally wounded by a Tyrolese bullet in the loins. The General having discovered his error withdrew, and gave up his reconnoissance for that day. On another occasion a soldier of the 90th French regiment went down to the bank of the Po to wash out a few things. Whilst engaged in this peaceful occupation a bullet struck him in the chest, and he fell into the river, whose tide bore his body to the Austrian side of the Po—a bloody tribute to the murderous accuracy of their fire. ‘At every instant,’ says the letter, ‘wounded men are being brought in by the ambulances.’”

According to an authority which has not been contradicted, the Austrian army in Italy was distributed as follows at the time the war began:—“At Ancona, 7,000 men; Ferrara, 4,000; Venice from 12 to 15,000; Legnanno, 1,000; Mantua, 4,000; Verona, 6,000; Piacenza, 5,000; Brescia, Milan, Bergamo, Cremona and other parts of the same military district, from 20,000 to 25,000; be-

sides a movable column of 20,000 was concentrated at Piacenza. There should be an allowance of 20,000 on the sick list. Four or five thousand are stationed at Pavia.— This would leave the very highest estimate about 130,000 men to invade Piedmont.”

It is wonderful upon what a small allowance a French soldier will live, be active and healthy. It was often said whilst they were in the Crimea, that the English soldiers were astonished at the facility with which the French soldier adapted himself to the circumstances surrounding him. The French soldier is in reality his own purveyor as well as cook. The allowance for his subsistence in Italy is six sous for two meals per day. The barrack-cooking is artistic and delicious.

Their allowance consists of two basins of soup with “the strings” in, which they call meat, and a few bits of onions or other vegetables to give it flavor. When on service they have a little wine; otherwise, except upon grand occasions, such as reviews, they have neither wine, spirits, beer nor coffee.

It is a great advantage, intellectually and physically, that each French trooper is almost independent of external resources. Whether he be a delicate Parisian, or whether a peasant just entering the army from the plough, he bends most easily to circumstances; he understands how to *faire la cuisine* with the most simple ingredients, when the more luxurious are wanting; however disagreeable the physical condition in which he finds himself, he still continues to keep up his gaiety. This in a difficult campaign is most important and relieves the officers of a large amount of responsibility and anxiety.

The French officers have heretofore worn the epaulette. This made them so conspicuous a mark that numbers of them in the first actions of the present campaign fell victims to the unerring aim of the Tyrolese riflemen. The Emperor Napoleon, following the example of the Austrians, has prudently ordered the use of it to be discontinued for the present. The officers now will not be distinguished at a long distance from the men.

The French troops have been divested of all superfluous clothing in order that they may move with ease. The tall shako of the grenadiers is to be replaced by the light *kepi* and the close fitting coat is to be replaced by a loose sack or *demi-tunic*.

An English letter-writer gives the following amusing account of how the Austrian soldiers in many instances obtain supplies:

“A soldier in white enters the shop of an unfortunate Piedmontese, selects certain articles, astonishes said Piedmontese by putting his hand into his pocket and drawing out an Austrian note. Piedmontese knows no more of its value than he does of the signification of the Chinese characters on a stick of Indian ink; but the soldier insists upon paying for what he has bought, informs the shop-keeper that the note is worth such or such a sum, demands and obtains the change in cash, and bids adieu to the rueful shop-keeper with a polite bow.”

CHAPTER XXI.

MORE AUSTRIAN AND FRENCH GENERALS—THE STAFF OF NAPOLEON—GENERAL ROGUET—DUKE DE MONTEBELLO—HIS WIFE AND THE EMPRESS—HIS BROTHER—EDGAR NEY—HIS ELDER BROTHER—GENERAL FLEURY—GENERAL RIELLE—BARON TASCHER—MARQUIS DE CADORE—M. DE BOURGOING—CONNEAU—LARREY—THE ARMY OF THE EAST—COURSE OF BAVARIA—GENERAL SCHRAMM—GENERAL ROSTOLAN—GENERAL ST. JEAN D' ANGELY—DISTINGUISHED VOLUNTEERS—THE PRINCE DE ROHAN—DUKE DE CHARTRES—FEELING OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE RELATIVE TO THE WAR—FATHER LACORDAIRE—HIS DISCOURSES TO THE PEOPLE—COUNTS CLAM-GALLAS AND SCHAAFF-GOTTSCHE—MARSHALS CASTELLANE AND MAGNAN.

THE Emperor's Staff not only is composed of distinguished officers, but of men whose names are full of historical associations in the very land to which he is going.

General Roguet, now in his fifty-ninth year, is the son of an old servant of Napoleon I., by whom he was created Count. The present General was in 1815 page to the Emperor, but it was not until after the Revolution of 1830, that he was enabled to obtain advancement. Louis Philippe in order to bring forward a set of new men which the Restoration had sedulously kept in the back ground, took into especial favor the adherents of the Bonaparte family. Count Roguet was made a Peer of France, and his son, now Aid-de-camp, rose rapidly in the army to the rank of Colonel. After the Revolution of 1848, he was chosen

by the President of the Republic for one of his Aid-de-camps. After the *coup d' état*, Roguet was raised to the rank of General of Division, and became a member of the Senate.

Count Montebello is the second son of Lannes, first Duke de Montebello, who was killed at Essling. He was born in Paris, in 1807. In 1830 he entered a Cavalry regiment, and took part in the expedition to Algiers, and afterwards became Captain in the Spahis. He was Aid-de-camp to Napoleon during the whole of the Presidency, and in 1855 was made General of Division.

His father Lannes, took his title from a victory at Montebello.

Count Montebello married Mademoiselle de Villeneuve Bargemont, who is now lady-in-waiting to the Empress. After the first action in Italy, it is said that the Empress visited the flower-show in the Exhibition Palace. One of the exhibitors having a new species of rose, remarkably fine, presented it to her Majesty, with a request that she would deign to give it a name. "Well," said the Empress, "call it Montebello!" The designation was considered a most happy one, both on account of the recent combat at that place, and because the flower was handed to her Majesty by the Duchess of Montebello.

There is a younger son of Lannes, who has acquired celebrity in another direction by marrying the heiress of a celebrated vineyard, renowned for its champagne. This has brought his name before the public on the labels of the most popular brand of champagne used in France. If he has not achieved glory he has acquired an immense fortune.

The Prince de la Moskowa, Napoleon Edgar Ney, born in Paris in 1812, is the fourth son of the renowned Marshal Ney. Brought up in the Military School of St. Cyr, he entered a cavalry regiment. His promotion was very slow until 1848, when Louis Napoleon attached him to his person as Aid-de-camp. He was sent on a difficult mission to Rome, to treat relative to the conditions for the restoration of the Pope.

Since 1852, Edgar Ney has been Aid-de-camp to the Emperor, a Colonel of the 6th Hussars. By Imperial decree he was, in 1857, authorized to take the style and title of his elder brother, the Prince de la Moskowa, who died in July of the same year. This elder brother, who had not inherited his father's military tastes or talents, married a daughter of the great banker Lâfitte, from whom he was speedily separated. After the revolution of July, Louis Philippe created him a Peer of France, but he nobly refused to take his seat amid those who had condemned his father to death; steadily persevering in his demand for the reversal of the decree of condemnation under which his father had been executed. He obtained it in 1841. Monsieur de la Moskowa was the founder of the renowned "Jockey Club" in Paris; and was, besides, one of the most distinguished scientific musicians of the age. He rallied in 1848 to the cause of Napoleon, and contributed greatly to his election as President. After the *coup d'état*, he was called to the Senate, and made General of Brigade. His only daughter is married to Count Persigny, the celebrated French statesman.

General Fleury is a distinguished officer of the Spahis,

born in Paris in 1815. He was in eleven of the most desperate campaigns in Algiers, and was five times severely wounded. In 1848 he became a warm partizan of the Bonapartists. He contributed his influence to the election of the President, to whose person he has ever since been attached, with the rank of General of Brigade.

General Rielle is the son of Marshal Rielle. His father was Aid-de-camp to Massena during the war in Italy, and was renowned for having made a cavalry charge, at Tarvis, on the solid ice. He was sent to Massena by General Bonaparte, with secret orders, during the blockade of Genoa by the English. Massena was closely shut up within its walls, but Rielle contrived to elude the vigilance of the besiegers, and enter the city. He was a General of Brigade before attaining his twenty-eighth year. He was the last Marshal created by Louis Philippe, and married a daughter of Massena, Prince of Essling.

Robert Bacon Tascher is the third son of Count Tascher de la Pagerie, the representative of the last surviving branch of the family of Tascher de la Pagerie, to whom the Empress Josephine belonged. The father of the officer, now on Napoleon's Staff, is a distant connection of the Emperor, through his mother Hortense. He was the intimate friend of Eugène Beauharnais, whom he followed to Bavaria after Waterloo. He is now Master of the Ceremonies in the Emperor's Household.

The Marquis de Cadore, Lieutenant in the Navy, is the grandson of a former Minister of Napoleon I., whom he created Duc de Cadore, in 1809.

M. de Bourgoing is a young officer of much promise, a

son of the Baron de Bourgoing, French Ambassador to Spain in 1851.

The two medical officers attached to his Staff are Conneau and Larrey. Conneau is the devoted friend to his companion in prison, to whom Napoleon indirectly owes the Empire, since it was by his means that he effected his escape from Ham. Larrey is the son of the celebrated army surgeon, the friend of Napoleon I., whose name is familiar to all who have read the campaigns of the Empire.

Whilst Napoleon is actively engaged in Italy, there seems to be a probability that the German Confederation may make an attack upon France, upon the side of the Rhine. Indeed, Bavaria very recently permitted an Austrian corps d'armée, of 40,000 men, to cross her territory, upon its march from Bohemia to Italy. They were received with open demonstrations of joy and congratulation by the people of Munich. By this permission their march was shortened hundreds of miles. The usual route for the march of Austrian *corps d'armée* from Germany to Italy is now closed, because Venice is blockaded, and all communication with it by sea is stopped. This act is a clear violation of neutrality upon the part of Bavaria, and will doubtless not be forgotten by Napoleon.

Even before this occurred, the debate in the Germanic Diet, relative to placing its army upon a war footing, satisfied Napoleon of the necessity of preparing to meet any demonstrations from that quarter. Accordingly he issued orders for the complete organization of the army under Pelissier, sometimes called the "Army of Observation," and at others the "Army of the East." The composition

of the Staff was at once resolved upon. The Duke of Malakoff instantly began his tour of inspection. His headquarters are now at Nancy; under him will serve as Chiefs of Division, Generals Schramm and Rostola, both of whom have proved their skill and valor upon more than one battle field.

General Count Schramm was born at Arras, in 1789. He was at the siege of Dantzic in 1807, where his brilliant valor gained him at once the rank of Captain of the Imperial Guard. He was at the battles of Wagram and Essling, and everywhere distinguished himself. At Lutzen, Schramm, then Colonel, made a celebrated bayonet charge on the Prussians which decided the battle in favor of the French, for which exploit the Emperor conferred on him the title of Baron. Although dangerously wounded at Lutzen, Schramm joined the army before Dresden, and placed himself in the vanguard. His regiment assisted, under the walls of the latter city, in capturing many pieces of artillery. Marching his regiment to Pirna, he succeeded in cutting off the retreat of the Austrians.

At Pirna, Napoleon, who found in him a man after his own heart, made him General of Brigade. All those brilliant acts of valor were performed by General Schramm before he had attained his twenty-fourth year. In 1813, he was taken prisoner by the Russians, and sent to Italy. Schramm having testified his devotion to the Emperor to the last, and been actively engaged in the defence of Paris during the hundred days, retired from active duty, refusing to serve under the elder Bourbons. In 1831, he accepted a command under Louis Philippe, and was at the

siege of Antwerp. In 1839, we find him taking the road then taken by all the fighting men of France, and going to Algiers, where he formed part of the expedition to Milianah. On the recall of Marshal Vallée, he, for a short time, occupied the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Armée d'Afrique. Louis Philippe, on his return from Africa, conferred on him the title of Count.

General Schramm has also distinguished himself in political life, first as a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and afterwards in the Chamber of Peers, to which he was called in 1839. The General's politics were conservative. In 1850, the President of the Republic selected him as Minister of War, but Schramm, declining to affix his signature to the order by which General Changarnier was deprived of his command, he was obliged to send in his resignation. After the coup d'état, he was raised to the dignity of Senator.

General Schramm is a "*vieux de la veille*," being the oldest General of Division in active service.

General Rostolan was born at Aix in 1791. He has served in Spain and in Algiers, and was at the time of the Revolution of 1848, at the head of the Polytechnic School. Having joined the party of Louis Napoleon, in 1852 he was employed in the expedition to Rome; and took his place in the Senate shortly after his return.

General Count Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, is the son of the celebrated statesman of the same name, well known during the days of the first Republic and the Empire. He was born in Paris in 1794, and was educated at St. Cyr. He served with distinction in the Russian cam-

paign, and though he had sworn fidelity to the Bourbons, during the hundred days he joined Napoleon at Waterloo, and was placed by him on his Staff.

On the return of the Bourbons he was cashiered.—M. de St. Jean d'Angely went to Greece, and in 1825, when the sympathies of all Christendom were excited for the Greeks, he served in the Morea with Colonel Fabvier in a corps of Volunteer Cavalry. He also joined General Maison's expedition in 1828. After the revolution of July, M. de St. Jean d'Angely was restored to his military rank by Louis Philippe.

In 1848, of course, with the name he bore, he rallied to the support of Napoleon. He was for a few days Minister of War. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely commands the Imperial Guard, now in Italy.

Amongst the volunteers, the number of which in Paris amounts already to over twenty-five thousand, there are many distinguished names. Among these are Prince Polignac, M. de Choiseul-Praslin, the grandson of Marshal Sebastiani, and the son of the ill-fated Duchess de Praslin, so barbarously murdered by her husband, Nicholas Clary, nephew of the Queen of Sweden, and of the wife of Joseph Bonaparte, and consequently a relation of the Emperor. This gentleman possesses a revenue of three hundred thousand francs per annum, and has enrolled himself as a volunteer in a Piedmontese regiment of Cavalry. M. de Clermont Tonnere, a member of a family who for centuries have been devoted to the Bourbons, has also offered his services. All these are members of the Jockey club, a club composed of the flower of the "*jeunesse dorée*,"

renowned for their fine equipages, for their refinement, for their exclusiveness. No less than forty members of this club have left the luxuries of the capital, and accepted with enthusiasm the hardships and dangers of a camp.

In the same regiment in which M. Clary is enrolled, is the Duke de Chartres, the second son of the Duke d'Orleans, and brother of the Count de Paris, the heir apparent to the claims of the younger branch of the Bourbons to the French crown. The Duke de Chartres is at Casale in the division commanded by General Cialdini. The Duke d'Aumale presented his nephew with two English chargers of great value, so that it would appear his conduct is entirely sanctioned by his family. The Duke de Chartres, thus explained his motives in a letter to his brother.

"I am here to learn the profession of arms. I do not inquire into the apparent or secret motives of the war. It is sufficient for me, that I serve in an army of brave men, with a constitutional King at its head, who has ever treated my family with kindness and courtesy. What is more, I fight side by side with French soldiers, and that is surely inducement enough."

The Duke de Chartres was of course not admitted into the ranks, without the Emperor having first been consulted. He has expressed his intention of conferring on the Duke de Chartres, with his own hand, at the first opportunity, the military medal, a proceeding which will place the young French Prince in an embarrassing position.

Count Eynard de Cavour, nephew and heir to the Minister who was recently attachè of the Sardinian embassy in London, has also joined the army. Count Eynard de

Cavour is the only son of the Marquis de Cavour; the elder brother of Eynard having been killed at the battle of Goito.

Amongst the enemies of France, though not in active service, there is a great historical French name, that of Rohan Guemenée, that brave indomitable race that once, disdaining all title, had for its haughty motto :

Prince ne daigne,
Roi ne puis,
Rohan Suis.

The uncle of this recreant Prince accepted, in 1808, letters of naturalization from the Emperor Francis. Not content with having abjured his country, the present Prince Camille has given the sum of ten thousand florins to equip a corps to oppose the French.

The enthusiasm in this war amongst the population of France exceeds all belief. Not alone has sympathy for the Italian cause inspired it. The French have a long rankling hatred against the Austrians; a hatred that has been inflamed by the late insulting diplomatic documents of the Austrian Cabinet. The workmen gather in groups about the streets of the cities, talking over the battles and news from the seat of war, as they did in the days of the *campagne d'Italie*; the women scarcely deign to look at a civilian. Some idea of the belligerent inclinations of the French may be formed from the fact that the price of a military *remplacant* or substitute has not increased from what it was in the time of peace. All those who are drawn by the conscription, excite the envy of those whom prudence and family considerations restrain from joining the army as volunteers.

The war has been preached like a crusade by the celebrated Père Lacordaire, a Dominican friar and a man of great influence. This man has a wild, energetic eloquence added to immense physical power, indomitable courage and a voice of extraordinary depth and pathos. He advocated liberty of conscience, freedom of the press, and was at the head of the progressive religion of Lammenais. His discourses at Notre Dame attracted the greatest intellects of the land, blending civil progress with religious progress he touched on all subjects,—nationality, industry, commerce, inventions, telegraphs and rail roads. He had a profound veneration for the Emperor Napoleon I. At the conclusion of one of his discourses, having dismissed his audience, (though in a church, it could scarcely be called a congregation), he exclaimed in a loud voice: “Stop! I have not done! The priests will tell you that you ought to thank God that you are Christians! I say thank God that you are Frenchmen. Listen to the glories you have achieved. Drink to the dregs the chalice of your glories, for bitter must be the reproaches of your consciences when I tell you that Napoleon made you what you are.” This was in 1840. No wonder then that in 1848, Lacordaire joined the Republican party, and finally rallied to the modern Napoleon. The reverend father has addressed a circular letter to the Catholics of France, in which he condescendingly approves of the war, and declares “that the evils and the sufferings the war will entail are all caused by the course pursued by Austria towards the Pope. If the Papal Government has become unpopular, it is owing to the oppression of

Austria, and to the servitude in which it has been kept since 1848.”

The holy father concludes by a prayer that Napoleon may destroy the armies and Empire of Austria.

In addition to the Austrian Generals, of whom notices were given in a preceding chapter, the names of Count Clam-Gallas and General Schaaffgotsche occur as officers of high position.

Clam-Gallas was Commander-General of Bohemia, in 1858. His head-quarters, at that time, were at Prague, the capital of the Province.

Schaaffgotsche, during the same year, was Military Commandant of the Provinces of Moravia and Silesia. His head-quarters were at Brünn. He was originally a General of Cavalry. Both of these men hold the title of Count, in addition to their military rank.

Both have seen some service, but performed no brilliant stroke of arms to distinguish them from ordinary Generals. Their capacity has to be tested, and they will have full opportunity of proving their mettle.

The Austrian army has received, as a volunteer, Prince Nicholas de Nassau, a half-brother of the reigning Duke. In taking leave of the Diet of Nassau, of which his brother had made him President, he said that he was proud of being the first German Prince who, from his independent position, is enabled to fight in the ranks of the defenders of his country against oppressors and invaders.

Thus the Austrians imagine they are fighting for liberty just as much as the Italians!

Besides the French Generals discussed in the first part

of this chapter, there are two others of distinction, who may, at any moment, be called to the field. These are Marshals Castellane and Magnan.

Marshal Castellane, born in 1778, comes of a noble Provençal family. His father was a liberal member of the *Etats Generaux*; his mother was a Rohan Chabot. In 1804, he served in the ranks, and rose gradually and by merit to be Sub-Lieutenant, in 1806, when he joined the army in Italy. In 1809, he received, at Wagram, the Cross of the Legion of Honor. M. de Castellane was one of those men Napoleon used to take by the ear and call by some affectionate name; one of those on whom he relied, and to whom he confided private missions of importance. He was in the disastrous campaign of Russia, where he had his right hand frozen off.

After Waterloo, he continued in the army, under the Bourbons, and served in Spain, where his moderation gained for him the esteem of the Spaniards themselves. Under Louis Phillippe, he went to the siege of Antwerp, was made a Peer of France, and served for a short time in Africa.

It was owing to the firmness and activity of the Marshal, that the *émeute* of 1851, at Lyons, was suppressed. As a reward for this service, the Emperor made him Marshal, and presented him with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor.

An untiring activity, great vivacity and quickness of intellect characterize the Marshal. Age has deprived him of none of his mental vigor. His eccentricities are proverbial among the soldiers, who have the greatest esteem for his talents, as well as attachment to his person.

Bernard Magnan, now Marshal of France, was born in Paris in 1791. He was in the campaigns of Portugal and Spain, and for his brilliant conduct at Vittoria was decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honor, on the field of battle. Although he had fought in the battle of Waterloo on the side of Napoleon, he was, through the influence of Gouvion St. Cyr, admitted into the *Garde Royale*. In 1823, he again fought in Spain, under the command of Marshal Moncey. He also distinguished himself in Algiers in 1830, especially at the siege of Bone. In 1831, Magnan being sent to quell a riot at Lyons, instead of charging the people, entered into negotiations with the rioters and offended the authorities, for which he was put on half pay.

Magnan then offered his services to the King of the Belgians, who gave him the command of twenty-five thousand men, (half the Belgian army), at the camp of Beverloo.

Magnan afterwards returned to France, where he had command of an army of observation in the Pyrénées. At the affair of Boulogne, in 1841, Marshal Magnan was implicated and accused in the Chamber of Peers of complicity with Louis Napoleon; a charge which he indignantly denied.

At the time of the Revolution, in 1848, not being on active duty, he offered his services to Louis Philippe. He, nevertheless, remained at the Tuilleries, and was the only General Officer who accompanied the Duchess of Orleans and her children in their ill-advised visit to the Chambers.

He was appointed by Arago to the command of the

Army of the Alps, and being informed of the riots of June, he brought the whole Division to the succor of Paris, by forced marches achieving one hundred and twenty leagues in seven days. Charles Albert was about to confide to him the command of the Sardinian army, but hesitating, as he always did, until it was too late, Magnan refused to accept the responsibility of commanding a half conquered soldiery.

In 1851, the command of the army of Paris was conferred upon him. He was one of the few persons in the secret of the *coup d'état*, and, during the 2d and 3d of December, executed the orders of Marshal St. Arnaud with promptness and fidelity. In return for his services at this period, he was made Marshal of France, and Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor. In the Emperor's household he is Master of the Hunt. Upon his fidelity now rests the stability of Louis Napoleon's throne, should the latter meet any serious reverses in Italy.

CHAPTER XXII.

FORMER WARS BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND FRANCE—NAPOLEON'S CAMPAIGNS
AGAINST AUSTRIA.

FROM the deep interest felt in the present war, it is manifest that a *resumé* of the great actions performed on the plains of Italy, by the Austrians and French, would prove a source of amusement and gratification. It is only proposed to give a summary of the wars which have happened between them during the last seventy-five years. It is in these alone that an immediate interest will be felt.

Austria was one of the first nations that took up arms against the French Revolution. In connection with Prussia, in 1795, her armies invaded France. After a desperate struggle they were driven out by the energy of the French Republican Assembly, and by the valor and military skill of General Dumourier. The French Assembly, by a conscription, called out one million two hundred thousand men for the defence of the country, a military exertion which has seldom, if ever, been equalled in military annals.

Prussia and Spain withdrew from the coalition, and in 1796, Austria was left to sustain the shock of the French in Italy. She was supported by the King of Sardinia, a State which is now her bitter enemy. The French army,

under Napoleon, in two campaigns, detached Sardinia from her alliance, drove her troops out of Italy, and pursued them into Germany nearly to the gates of Vienna. Under the walls of that capital France dictated peace to Austria in 1797. By that peace she made large accessions of territory and influence in Germany. As a recompense, Napoleon assigning her Venice and Lombardy, first made her an Italian power.

In 1799, Austria and Russia took up arms against France, and for a time were very successful. They drove the French out of Italy. In the latter part of that year, however, Napoleon returned from Egypt. He induced the Russian Emperor, Paul, to withdraw from the Austrian alliance. Having accomplished this, he led his army into Italy. On the plains of Marengo he fought a decisive battle, the result of which expelled Austria from Italy. It was soon followed up by the victory of Hohenlinden, in Germany, gained by the French, under General Moreau. The French columns were again near Vienna, and again France compelled Austria to sue for peace.

In 1804, the Emperor of France became King of Italy. Immediately after, Austria and Russia attacked France. Such, however, was the power of the latter, that in six months one Austrian army was destroyed at Ulm, and another, together with the Russians, destroyed at Austerlitz. The French entered Vienna, and again dictated a peace.

In 1809, Austria and France again met in collision on the tented field. The French, however, under Napoleon, marched down the valley of the Danube, with the velocity

almost of the wind, and in one campaign took up their quarters in Vienna. A severe and ignominious peace for Austria was the result.

In 1813, Austria united with all the great Powers of Europe, overthrew the French Empire, and broke down the Power which had so often entered the gates of Vienna in triumph. By the treaties of 1814 and 1815, the northern States of Italy, Venice and Lombardy, were ceded to Austria by the leading nations of Europe. It is now on the faith of these treaties that Austria rests her case, and appeals to the rest of Germany and to England to assist her in maintaining them inviolate.

The following short summary of the campaigns of Bonaparte in Italy, will also be interesting at the present time, and will illustrate the strength of the positions now held by the Austrians.

The command of the army of Italy was assumed by Napoleon about the end of March, 1796. It consisted of 42,000 men and sixty guns—the troops being in the most destitute condition.

Beaulieu and Colli, the Austrian and Sardinian Generals, had under them 50,000 men and 200 guns; and 24,000 Sardinians, who were then allied with the Austrians, guarded the avenues of Inez against Kellerman's army of nearly equal strength; the French mostly occupying the crests and their opponents the valleys leading to the Italian plains. Penetrating by Col de Cadibon, he succeeded in separating the Austrians from the Piedmontese, and in beating the former at Montenotte. The exact reverse of this operation was performed by the Austrians in 1800,

who succeeded then in doing what they were attempting now against Bonaparte — for, beating Soult at Montenotte, they cut the French army in two, and shut Massena up in Genoa without the possibility of communicating with France. Shortly after Montenotte, Augereau beat the Sardinians at Millesimo. Bonaparte carried Dego, and, Sardinia being then open to the French, they devoted themselves first to crushing the Sardinian army. The intrenched camp at Ceva was turned; Colli defeated at Mondovi; and then the King of Sardinia concluded an armistice, giving up Coni, Ceva, and Alessandria to the French. Shortly after Sardinia retired from the coalition against France.

Beaulieu had retired behind the Po. Bonaparte effected its passage at Placentia, thus turning the line of the Ticino. The Austrians on coming up were beaten in detail at Fombio and Pizzighettone, and compelled to concentrate behind the Adda. Bonaparte pushing for Milan, crossed the Adda at Lodi in the face of the Austrians, and entered that capital, from which he forced contributions of 20,000,000 francs.

Beaulieu retired behind the Mincio, from which he was driven by an action at Valleggio, and Bonaparte then occupied Verona and Legnano.

Beaulieu retired to Roveredo to defend the passes of the Tyrol, leaving still a garrison in Mantua, which the French blockaded.

Marshal Wurmser then arrived with reinforcements, which raised the Austrian army to 60,000. The French had altogether 55,000, of whom 15,000 were before Man-

tua, and 10,000 keeping up the communications, leaving only 30,000 to meet the Austrians in the field. The Austrians had the intention of raising the blockade of Mantua. They advanced in two divisions, separated by the Lake of Garda. Wurmser passed the Adige at Castiglione; but, extending his line too far to the right to join Quasdanovich, was beaten at Sonate and Medola, and had to retreat to Roveredo.

Wurmser then formed the idea of doubling round by the Val Sugana, debouching at Bassano, and coming upon the rear of the enemy, who were endeavouring to force their way up the Adige. Bonaparte beat Davidovich, who was left at Roveredo, both at that place and at Calliano; and, leaving Vaubois to guard his rear, followed Wurmser down the Brenta, beat him at Bassano, and forced him to take refuge in Mantua.

The French force was now very weak, and they were driven back from the Tyrol and from the Brenta to the Adige, and beaten at Caldiero.

Bonaparte succeeded, however, in turning this last mentioned impregnable position by crossing the marshes on a causeway at Arcola, and again the Austrians had to retreat.

Provera now endeavored to raise the siege of Mantua by advancing from Padua. Alvinzi opposed Bonaparte on the Adige. The battle of Rivoli, very nearly lost, was gained by a dishonorable deception by Napoleon; and Provera was also forced to surrender. The Austrians, driven back, rallied only on the Tagliamento and the Drave, and Wurmser surrendered Mantua.

In March, 1797, Bonaparte formed the idea of pushing on to the hereditary States of Austria,—a most rash undertaking, as he had no secure base of communications, and none which could have even been attempted if the Austrians had retreated into the Tyrol instead of towards the Drave, and had left that direct approach to Vienna, in which there are numerous strong positions, to be guarded by country levies. The French, passing successively the Tagliamento and the Isonzo, seized Trieste and Laybach, and occupied the important Col de Tarvis. They crossed the Drave at Villach, advanced to Klagenfurth, forced the defiles of Neumarkt, and pushed on to Judembourg, on the Muhr. In this moment of extreme danger to Bonaparte the Austrians surrendered, and eventually the well-known peace of Campo Formio was signed, by which France gained large portions of Austrian territory in the North of Europe, and Austria received the North of Italy in exchange.

While Bonaparte was absent in Egypt the French were everywhere driven back in Italy. Scherer had 57,000 on the Adige, to oppose 58,000 Imperialists, with 6,000 horse on the Tagliamento, under Kray, who had a reserve of 25,000 in Carinthia and a large and effective field artillery. The French advanced and nearly reached Verona, but were soon driven back and entirely routed at Magnano. The Austrians were now joined by 20,000 Russians under Suwaroff. Moreau, succeeding to the command of the French, fell back behind the Adda. The river was crossed by a surprise, Serrurier obliged to surrender, and the French retreated behind the Ticino on to Turin and Alessandria, there to await the arrival of Macdonald's army

from Naples. Suwaroff having by rapid movement surprised Turin, Moreau had to fall back on Genoa. The road by Ceva was blocked up, but he succeeded in arriving by mountain paths at Loano, a coast town West of Genoa. The orders of the Aulic Council prevented Suwaroff attacking Moreau on these mountains.

Macdonald, meanwhile, was advancing by Modena, Parma, and Placentia, to attack the Austrian communication; hearing which, Suwaroff collected 30,000 men and 6,000 horse, and, after three days' fight on the Trebbia, beat the French who had to retreat to Genoa. Shortly after, Mantua and Alessandria were taken by the Austrians.

Joubert now took command of the French, and, advancing, came in contact with the Austrians at Novi. After a hotly-disputed battle, the French were totally routed and fled in confusion.

Championnet next had command of the French, who numbered 60,000, against Melas, who had 68,000 in the field. Being ordered to relieve Coni, he advanced with 35,000 men; but the disunited French columns were separately assailed by Melas, and overwhelmed at Genoa. St. Cyr beat the Austrians at Novi; but, an epidemic breaking out, the French army entirely broke up, and Genoa was the only place left to them in Italy.

In 1800, Bonaparte, as First Consul, took command of the Army of Italy which was to attack the Austrians, while Moreau struck a blow at the Hereditary States and Germany.

Massena took command of the Army of the Alps, con-

sisting of 28,000 men, to whom 60,000 Austrians were opposed, under Melas, who determined to take Genoa.

Attacking in three columns, the latter defeated Soult at Montenotte, and cut off Suchet from the main body; (the latter was afterwards again beaten at Monte Giacomo, by Elnitz, followed up by Melas; again routed at Borghetto, and driven into France). Massena, driven into Genoa and blockaded, ultimately surrendered, with 9,000 men.

Meanwhile, Bonaparte had effected his celebrated passage of the St. Bernard. On the 28th, his army was united at Ivrea, having turned the little Fort Bard. Moncey, with 16,000 men, crossed the St. Gothard. Other corps descended by Susa and the Simplon; so that 60,000 men were assembled in Piedmont, in the rear of the Imperialists. Bonaparte advanced rapidly, and took Milan. Placentia and Pavia fell into the hands of the French; the line of the Po was forced, and the Austrians thus cut off from Mantua and their reserves in Eastern Italy. At Montebello the Austrians were beaten, and the French occupied the Pass of Stradella, between the Apennines and the Po, where Bonaparte had the idea of waiting to intercept the enemy.

Meanwhile, Melas concentrated at Alessandria. Suchet, advancing, was vigorously pressing Elnitz, and Melas was determined to cut his way through the French army. Bonaparte advanced from Stradella, and the two armies met near Alessandria, on the plains of Marengo—the Austrians being 31,000 with 7,500 horse, and the French 25,400 with 3,600 cavalry. At daybreak the Austrians attacked and carried all before them till late in the after-

noon, when Kellerman's horse made a flank charge, and turned the fate of the day. An armistice was now concluded at Alessandria. The Austrians had to fall back to the Mincio, and Bonaparte returned in triumph to France.

The observations that may be made from this account are—1st, That the Austrians beat all the French Generals when they were not headed by Napoleon. 2nd, That three of Bonaparte's great victories—viz, Montenotte, Rivoli, and Marengo—were won more by good luck and treachery than by good management or by any superiority of the French troops. 3rd, That the places which Napoleon's great strategic genius marked as the decisive points, are those which the Austrians have now fortified in the strongest manner.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PAPAL STATES — AREA — POPULATION — ARMY — REVENUE — TRADE — AGRICULTURE — GOVERNMENT — ROME — THE VATICAN — THE QUIRINAL — ST. PETERS — SAN MARINO — PIUS VII. — RAVAROLI — CONSALVI — LEO XII. — THE SANFADESI — REVOLT OF 1831 — NATIONAL COLORS OF ITALY — GREGORY XVI. — GAETANO — LAMBRUSCHINI — PIUS IX. — HIS REFORMS — UGO BASSO — THE POPE'S PRIVATE HISTORY — COUNT ROSSI — REVOLUTION OF 1848 — FLIGHT OF THE POPE — COUNTESS SPAUR — ANTONELLI — GASPERONE — ANTONELLI AS PREMIER — MAMIANI — THE ADMINISTRATION OF ANTONELLI SINCE 1849 — MAZZINI — HIS EARLY LIFE — EXPULSION FROM ITALY — THE BANDIERA AND MORO — SIR. JAMES GRAHAM — MAZZINI'S PART IN THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 — HIS LIFE SINCE — THE RECENT MANIFESTO.

THE Pontifical States, or, as they are sometimes called, the "States of the Church," consist of nineteen divisions for administrative purposes. Some of them are known technically as Legations, others by the name of Delegations. There are six of the former and thirteen of the latter; and Rome itself, including the District of Comarca. The Legations are Bologna, Ferrara (Ciachi), Forli, Ravenna, Urbino and Pesaro, and Velletri. The Delegations are Ancona, Macerata, Camerino, Fermo, Ascoli, Perugia, Spoleto, Rieti, Viterbo, Orvieto, Frosinone, Civita Vecchia, and Benevento.

These States or Departments occupy almost a central position in Italy. They are bounded on the North by

Austrian Italy, East by the Adriatic, South-East by Naples, South-West by the Mediterranean, West by Tuscany, and North-West by Modena. It is evident from their position, that under the management of an able and vigorous Government they could, in a great measure, give tone to the politics of the Peninsula, and more or less shape and mould the future destinies of the other States. Besides, around them linger the traditions of the two thousand five hundred years during which they have directed either the civil government, or controlled the spiritual opinions of the whole of Italy.

The total area of these States is 17,210 square miles, an extent of territory very little less than the continental possessions of Victor Emanuel, as large as the whole of the Austro-Italian Provinces, and more than half as large as the Kingdom of Naples exclusive of Sicily. Their population in 1853 was 3,124,665. This last census gives a population of 183 to the square mile. From 1843 to 1853, including the period of the revolution, the increase in population was 276,553.

The army of the Roman States upon a war footing, as given by a very recent authority, numbers 15,255 foot soldiers and 1,350 cavalry. Another, and perhaps more accurate authority, says it numbers 17,365 men, with 1,417 cavalry.

The revenue of these States, in 1854, was \$12,542,500; of this sum \$5,987,500 were derived from customs; the balance, almost all, was raised by direct taxation. But these figures do not exhibit anything like the amount of revenue actually raised. An authority entitled to high credit says, in discussing this matter:

“The greater part of it (the Papal revenue) is ecclesiastical, of which no account is kept.” There can, therefore, be no public exhibit of it made. The distribution of the secular revenue was partly as follows:

Interest on Public Debt, . . . \$4,995,500.

Army, 1,904,500.

Interior, 1,581,500.

The balance of the expenditures went to the civil list, the whole amounting to \$14,395,000; the excess of the disbursements over the receipts being, for that year, \$1,852,500. The public debt of these States is \$82,000,000, a debt greater than that owed by Naples, Bavaria or Turkey, all three of which States have more than double the resources and population of the Papedom.

The Papal States have but two seaports accessible to foreign commerce, although they have a sea coast line of 210 miles on the Adriatic, and 160 on the Mediterranean. These sea ports are Ancona and Civita Vecchia. There is little trade between the Northern and Southern States, owing to the fact that the Apennines traverse the interior in a South and South-East direction; some of their peaks, like Vetora and Sibilla, running to the height of seven and eight thousand feet. Intercourse is thus rendered very difficult, and the only kind of transportation across these mountains that is carried on is upon mules.

It is in these mountains that the celebrated banditti of the Roman States find homes; and it is along the roads traversing them, that these modern Fra Diavoli largely transact throat-cutting and pocket-picking, in the most approved and gentlemanly style of their profession. They

do not exclusively confine their operations to mountain roads. They occasionally perform some dashing feat upon the public highways between Rome and Civita Vecchia, and between Rome and Naples.

The total value of the foreign commerce of these States was estimated in 1852, thus: exports, \$11,475,000; imports, \$11,294,000. The total number of shipping arrivals during 1852, were 2,311—1,080 of them being coastwise, and the remainder foreign. The clearances during the same year, were 2,292, coastwise 1,082, foreign 1,210. The merchant marine comprised in the previous year 863 large vessels, with an aggregate of 28,204 tons, and 567 smaller ones with no return of the amount of their tonnage.

Agriculture is conducted in a most careless manner. The country, if cultivated according to the improved methods of modern times, would produce much more abundantly than it now does. The chief products are wheat, maize, pulse, hemp, wine, oil and tobacco. It is no wonder that the inhabitants have, in a large measure, to subsist as the Tuscans do, upon chestnuts; for not more than one-third of the whole superficial area of the country is under tillage.

The manufactures are similar to those of Modena, Parma and Tuscany.

An American writer who has closely studied the nature of the Pontifical Government, thus describes its principal characteristics.

“The Government is of a very peculiar kind, not easily reducible to any of the generally recognized forms;

though, in its leading feature, it is an elective monarchy. The Sovereign, who bears the name of Papa or Pope, must be at the time of his election a cardinal-priest, and is chosen for life by his fellow-cardinals, who constitute what is called the Sacred College, and must be all priests. The hierarchical principle thus displayed is not confined to the higher offices, but is continued throughout the whole series—the priesthood being an indispensable qualification for the tenure of any civil office; though, in regard to some, the priestly character seems to be more nominal than real, as individuals regarded as priests while in office are sometimes not truly in orders, and again become laymen when the office expires. The number of cardinals, in imitation of the evangelists sent out by our Saviour, is limited to 70, and all vacancies may be filled up by the Pope absolutely, without control: though, in practice, the number is seldom complete. When the Pope dies, the cardinal-chamberlain occupies his place till the ninth day, when the funeral takes place. On the tenth day, the cardinals meet in secret conclave, and so continue till a majority of two-thirds are agreed as to a successor. Even then the election is not determined, as Austria, France, and Spain have each a veto on one candidate. In the event of their exercising it, the whole process must again be gone over, and full scope is given for all kinds of intrigue.

“The Government is administered by Boards or Congregazioni, presided over by a Cardinal-Secretary of State as Prime Minister. The principal Congregazioni are the Camera Apostolica, or Treasury, presided over by the Cardinal-Chamberlain, the only Minister who holds of-

fice for life; the Cancelleria or Chancery—President, the Cardinal-Chancellor; the Dataria, for Ecclesiastical Benefices; the Buon Governo, for Municipal Police; the Congregazione de' Monti, for Public Debt; the Sacra Consulta, for the Political and Civil Administration of the Provinces; the Segnatura, or Court of Seals; and the Sacra Ruota, or Supreme Court of Justice. The Comarca of Rome is presided over by a Governor, who has very extensive powers, and can inflict capital punishment; the Provinces, or *Legazioni* and *Delegazioni*, by Legates and Delegates, each assisted by a Council consisting of the Gonfaloniere of the chief town, and from two to four Councillors, nominated by the Pope for five years. The Delegations are subdivided into Districts, (*Distretti*), headed by Governors, who act as Judges without appeal in all civil cases under 300 scudi, and subject to appeal in minor criminal cases. The appeal is, in the first instance, to the Collegiate Court, which is composed of the Delegate, two Assessors, an Ordinary Judge, and a member of the Communal Council, and has primary jurisdiction over the whole Delegation.

“Above the Collegiate Courts are three superior Courts of Appeal. One is the Segnatura, at Rome; another sits at Bologna; and the third at Macerata. A still higher Court of Appeal is the Sacra Ruota, the limit of whose jurisdiction is not very easily defined, as it once extended over the whole Christian world, and is still very extensive in all countries where the Pope's authority is generally recognized. It is composed of 12 Prelates, 6 of whom are appointed by the Pope, 2 by Spain, and 1 each by

France, Germany, Tuscany, and Milan. The system of law is extremely defective, since it scouts all the modern improvements in jurisprudence, and refuses to recognise any codes but the canon law and *corpus juris*."

Rome, the sepulchral monument of ages, of glory, and power, has been impressed by so many descriptions on the minds of all, that to notice her stupendous antiquities would be out of place. *Rome*, the city of the Pope, is an object of interest in the present war; therefore to modern Catholic Rome shall especial reference be made.

The Vatican is an immense construction, composed of several palaces and gardens, altogether making up the largest pile of buildings in Europe. Although its architecture is neither symmetrical nor regular, owing to its having been built at various periods, it bears the mark of the greatest artists of the world; all of whom were in turn employed in its construction. Some date the foundation of the Vatican to Constantine the Great; it certainly was a palace of importance in Rome when Charlemagne was crowned in it, by Pope Leo III.

It did not become the Pontifical residence until after the return of the Popes from Avignon in 1377. The Popes who contributed most to the embellishment of the Vatican were Giulio II., who employed the pencil of the great Raphael, Leo X., and Sextus V. But all have lavished time, wealth and talent upon the decoration of this richest of all princely residences. The Sistine chapel, (in the Vatican), especially dedicated to the ceremonies of the Holy Week, contains "The Last Judgment" of Michael Angelo, and the great picture of Raphael, known as "*La*

Madonna di San Sisto. The Library of the Vatican is magnificent as a building; invaluable for its collection of choice, rare books and manuscripts. The Libraries of the Elector palatine, of the Duke d'Urbino, of Queen Christina of Sweden, and of the houses of Ottoboni, and Capponi, have been all added to the Treasury of the Vatican.

The picture gallery of the Vatican contains the works of Titian, Andrea del Sacchi, Carravaggio, Domenichino, Poussin, Guido, Penugino, Raphael, Corregio, and those of numerous other great names of the artistic world. The Vatican is three stories high, it contains 4,422 rooms, eight grand staircases, besides the gallery, chapel, and library, and has attached to it a delicious garden. This residence of the Popes stands on a hill, and at one point is connected with St. Peter's, while a covered gallery joins it to the Castle of St. Angelo.

The superb Palace of the Quirinal, situated on one of the most beautiful heights of Rome, sometimes called Monte Cavallo, is a favorite residence of the Popes. It was built by Gregory VIII., in 1574, and has been embellished by each succeeding Pope, especially by Pius VII. The garden of this palace is very extensive, and has been planted with great taste. It commands a magnificent view of the City of Rome. In the square of the Quirinal, or Monte Cavallo, stands the Palace of La Consulta, the seat of the Imperial Tribunal. The Palace of Salviati contains the archives of Rome. The most magnificent Christian temple in the world is the Basilica of St. Peters. It was begun by Pope Nicolas V., in 1450, with the express intention of surpassing in its construction the glories of the temple of Solomon.

All the arts and all the celebrities of all the arts have contributed to the decoration and construction of this superb edifice, the greatest monument of modern Rome and one of the wonders of the world.

The streets of Rome are wide and well paved, the whole city teems with monuments of ancient days and palaces of the middle ages, whilst the number of modern hotels denote the affluence of foreigners and visitors. Here is a whole population of students in painting and sculpture. The Jewish population is confined to the left side of the Tiber. It is the dirtiest part of the city, and is called the Ghetto.

Surrounded on all sides by the Papal States, like a small gem in a large setting, is the tiny Republic of San Marino. It is a mountain of the Apennines, only six miles west of Rimini, in the Roman State. This mountain, with seven thousand inhabitants, forms a Republican, independent State. It existed before the Republic of Venice, and still exists, like a relic of Italian liberty. Neither Napoleon, nor the Congress of Vienna, thought of destroying this miniature Republic; but the Pope claims to be its "protector," which, in a diplomatic sense, means oppressor. Those poor mountaineers hospitably received, in 1849, the fugitive Roman citizens who succeeded in reaching their small territory; but, after a few days, the Consuls of the Republic were obliged to inform the refugees that they had no means of protecting them against the vengeance of the Pope, who claimed the right of *extradition*.

The history of the Papal States is a very curious one. The dual capacity in which the Pope acts, as Head of the

Church, and temporal Sovereign of these States, gives rise to a complication of authority that is very singular. The Popes began to acquire territory about the middle of the Eighth Century. It was, however, extremely limited until Pepin le Bref, Charlemagne, and the Emperor Henry III., increased its extent by various successive grants. Pope Julius II., who died in 1513, consolidated them into nearly their present form.

When the French Revolution of 1789 occurred, the Pope lost Avignon and Venaissin, and in 1797 he lost a number of his Legations, having been compelled to cede them to the Cis-Alpine Republic. In 1808, Napoleon, after having imprisoned Pius VII., divided the remainder of the Popedom between the two great political vortices of that day, the Kingdom of Italy and the French Empire.

Pius VII. was the first of all the dethroned and banished monarchs of Italy, who reëntered his dominions in 1814. His first care, after he set foot in Rome, was sedulously to banish all traces of the French régime, although opposed by some of his cardinals, who persisted in refusing to believe that all French innovations were the work of Satan. Still the reactionists carried the day, under the especial influence of Cardinal Rivarola, who never heard France or Frenchmen named before him without making the sign of the cross. The Pope and his Minister gradually suppressed all the French laws and institutions known at Rome. They wished to appear in all the barbaric majesty of the middle ages, and not disguised in the mountebank costume of modern revolutionists. Cardinal Consalvi, who succeeded Rivarola, pretended, however, to bring upon this old monarchy some

semblance of liberality, but it consisted more in fine promises than in actual execution. Still, being a man of judgment and conscience, he displayed considerable ability in the administration of affairs, and exercised a certain degree of tolerance in political and religious matters.

Annibale della Genga, who succeeded Pius VII., in 1823, under the name of Leo XII., was a bigoted priest. A Pope worthy of the age of iron! he looked on the moderation of Consalvi as Jacobinism, concealed under a Cardinal's hat. Accordingly, he hastened to get rid of him, and reëstablished Rivarola, with his hatreds, prejudices, and cruelties, into full power. Together, the Pope and the Cardinal revived the Holy Inquisition, and once again imparted full force to the order of the Sanfédesti.

This Order, which still exists in Italy, and probably in all countries where the religion of Christ takes the form of Catholicism, deserves peculiar mention. It was founded in 1773, when the Jesuits were persecuted by all the Catholic Courts of Europe, and afterwards suppressed by a bull of Pope Clement XIV. It then took the name of the Society of the Holy Faith. Bishops and ecclesiastical dignitaries of great influence, were then, and afterwards, admitted into the society. Its first members were styled Padri Sanfédesti, but soon after they founded a brotherhood called Fratelli Sanfédesti, composed of laymen, and belonging generally to lower classes. They knew nothing of the secret aim and organization of the society; they are bound only to obey the orders they receive without inquiry, because the end sanctifies the deed, however wicked, by the good which the leaders may have in view.

The blind executioners of the will of their leaders are generally men who have committed dreadful crimes, and have entered into the society as the means of making atonement for their crimes, and of thus securing their eternal salvation. Secure of immunity, they often indulge in new crimes without restraint. They are the sworn enemies of freedom, as proved by one of the oaths administered to them on their admission. "I swear," says the Sanfédist, "to spare no individual belonging to the Liberal party; to have mercy on neither the aged, the women, nor the children, and to shed the last drop of blood, without regard to age, sex, or rank. I cover my head with black and yellow, the colors of the House of Austria, and on my heart yellow and white, the colors of the Pope, the Sovereign of Rome."

These men are bound among themselves to support each other; to bring false testimony to silence true witnesses. The officers of the police, and often even the judges, belong either to the Padri Sanfédesti, or to the Fratelli Sanfédesti.

Highwaymen and brigands belong invariably to this society; having protectors, and often accomplices, among the police, the prosecuting officers, and the judges, to detect and imprison. It is therefore difficult to procure their arrest, to convict them impossible.

Leo XII. changed the Papal Government into a perfect theocracy. To the priests he confided all the schools and universities, and all civil power; and commanded Latin to become the language of the tribunals and courts of law. At the same time he restored all the feudal privileges of the nobility, and discouraged commerce. He and Rivarola

especially directed their persecutions against the Jews and the Carbonari. He issued a decree by which the Jews were forbidden to possess anything within his dominions; confining them to a special portion of the city of Rome, the gates of which were closed upon them at a given hour every night. The persecutions invented by Cardinal Rivarola against the Carbonari, and the execution of the members of that association, served but to arouse the energies of the Liberal party.

At length, in 1831, a revolt broke out in Bologna, and immediately Ferrara, Imola, Cesena, Forli, Viterbo, Rimini, and Perugia, unfurled the national banner of freedom, Red, White, and Green.

“Il verde, la speme tant ’anni pasciuta;
Il rosso, la gioia d’ averla compiuta;
Il bianco la fede fraterna d’ amor.”

(*Free translation.*)

“*Green*, sacred emblem of hope long deferred;
Red, token of joy, its fulfillment displays;
White, holy image of union and love.”

It is said by one of the Liberals of Italy, that had this revolt of 1831, in Romagna, succeeded, it was the intention of the Liberal party to have placed at the head of the Government one of the two nephews of Napoleon, who had joined the banners of the patriots; the elder of whom died at Forli, and lies buried in the cloister of San Spirito, at Florence. The younger of those boys is now Emperor of the French.

But the French and Austrian intervention suppressed

the democratic movement. Gregory XVI. was elected Pope whilst the Popedom was in a state of combustion and disorganization, and found the French at Ancona, the Austrians at Bologna, and the people in open revolt. Seventeen years of tyranny, which he had been called upon to succeed, had brought utter prostration and misery. The years of Gregory's reign present only a uniformity of brutal and crushing tyranny. Agriculture and trade fell into decay; the arts were utterly neglected; the people burdened by heavy taxation, and the whole country reduced to a state of moral degradation.

The Pope himself was a man of the basest passions and most sensual habits, leaving the whole management of affairs to Cardinal Lambruschini, and to his favorite, known as Gaetano. This latter was the apprentice of a barber, who lived opposite to the Convent in Via Camaldolesi, where resided Fra Mauro Capellari, afterwards Gregory XVI. Gaetano was raised at the time of the exaltation of his patron to the position of *primo cameriere*, or chief valet of the Pope. His influence is said to have been boundless. Scandal, in some degree warranted by the dissolute conduct of the Pope, assigned to the beautiful wife of Gaetano a still greater influence than her husband. The husband and wife were the only persons who took care of the Pope when he was sick or drunk. The latter circumstance was of not unfrequent occurrence. Gregory was called "*il bevone*," the drunkard; and one of the pasquinades at the time of his death says, "that he was unable to open the gates of St. Peter, because when he applied the key to the gate of Heaven, he found that, in-

stead of the keys of St. Peter, he had brought with him the keys of his wine cellar."

Cardinal Lambruschini, for many years Prime Minister of Gregory XVI., to whom he left absolute power, was an object of intense hatred to the people. He oppressed them in every way, and drained the public treasury to enrich himself. He had, however, contrived to make friends among the younger Cardinals, and thoroughly relied on being, on the death of Gregory XVI., elected Pope. Cardinal Fieschi, and several of the elder Cardinals, dreading the power of Lambruschini, and unwilling to place the Papal See in the grasp of any known leader of a party, gave their votes to an obscure and unknown individual, free from all the political intrigues of the day. This candidate was Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti, who thus became Pope Pius IX. "Pardon and Reform," were the first words uttered by Pius IX., after his accession on June 16th, 1846.

The political amnesty liberated over three thousand respectable citizens of Rome. The opening of the cells of the Papal prisons revealed scenes equalled only when the people of Paris threw open the dungeons of the Bastille, that prison, for ages, of royal caprice and brutal tyranny. The cells were opened in the presence of the multitude, and the liberated prisoners were an object of the deepest interest to all.

When taken from their cells and brought to the light among the large crowd of their friends and relatives, they looked astonished and bewildered, as if suspecting that their triumph was but a dream. Many of them were en-

tirely disabled and worn out by ill-treatment, and some were brought blindfolded, upon chairs, because the slightest movement and the light would have injured them. Among them, in Rome, was a venerable old gentleman, carried by four of his sons, all full-grown men, formerly his fellow-prisoners. A ray of joy animated his dying face, and his heart was overwhelmed with happiness at the imposing sight of the Roman people, once more free, and evidently determined to maintain their freedom. Excess of joy terminated in a few days his already worn-out life. His last words were, "Never trust a Pope."

A Roman lady thus describes the return of her son: "They brought him to my arms," she wrote to me, "because he could not walk at all, nor even change his sitting position. The dampness of his dungeon deprived him of the use of his limbs, and want of air and light made him look pale as death. His sparkling black eyes were shut, because he could not bear the light. I need not say what I felt at this sight. But he was in excellent spirits, and bade me be of good cheer, as he would recover in a few days. So thinks, too, our friend, Dr. Michele. But I feel that I am not able to hope for the best, for I have a sad presentiment. I have seen the amnesties of five Popes during my life, and know how much to rely upon them."

One of the most remarkable amongst the prisoners was Ugo Basso, a monk of most enlightened mind, one of the greatest poets Italy has ever produced. He was saved, however, but to meet a more terrible fate. Having joined the Liberal party three years later, and fought under Garibaldi, he was taken prisoner, and shot in his native city

of Bologna by order of Monsignor Bedini. His youth, accomplishments, courage, and exemplary character, make him one of the victims of the revolution the most deeply to be regretted.

The public life of the Pope is so entirely mingled with that of Antonelli, that it will be found detailed in a notice of the Cardinal. His private history is not, however, devoid of interest.

The Mastai-Ferretti, the family to which he belongs, is an ancient one of Sinigallia, a town on the Adriatic, between Rimini and Ancona. His father was rich, possessing an income of some five thousand dollars, which for a town where living is excessively cheap, is an enormous sum. The family of Mastai-Ferretti were much respected. The father of the Pope was an ardent Liberal. The Pope Giovanni Maria is the second son. His eldest brother married young and became the head of the family.

The younger brother, according to the rule in noble families of Romagna, was destined for the Church, but old Count Mastai-Ferretti was on principle opposed to monastic life, and therefore strove to educate his son for one of the liberal professions.

But Giovanni Maria had little taste for study, and accordingly entered "*la Guardia Nobile*" or the Pope's Guard. At Rome he fell in love with a beautiful girl, named Chiara Colonna, but being refused by her, he turned his thoughts towards the Church. He took orders, and distinguished himself for his apostolic virtues, his gentleness, and his unbounded charities.

It has often been said the Italian movement began in

the name of Pius IX., and then turned against him. The reason of this inconsistency arose from the fact of a mutual misunderstanding of the character of the Pope, and the requirements of the people. Pius IX. is a man of limited capacity, of a nervous, irritable temperament, and is totally devoid of courage, both moral and physical. His very charity and benevolence arose from his aversion to witness suffering, rather than from innate goodness of heart. Besides, like all converts, Pius IX., in early life, was dissipated and irreligious. He is now a fanatic in religion. He believes in the special protection of the Holy Ghost, by whose intercession he believes himself to have been converted, and considers that he has been appointed by a special Providence, to reëstablish the Papedom in all the magnificence and brilliancy of the middle ages.

Pio Nono besides the amnesty granted other reforms; the organization of a National Guard, the public administration of justice, the freedom of the press, and a reconstruction of the Ministry. But neither the Pope nor his Minister Antonelli, had contemplated the extent to which the demands of the Democratic party would go.

The Pope had designed by concessions to strengthen his power. The people had imagined that he intended to enfranchise them, and abandon his temporal power. The crisis which now arose in Rome, proves that Papacy and Democracy are incompatible: Democracy is the expression of the law which demands the "greatest good for the greatest number;" Papacy is the despotic rule of one man, not only Sovereign by divine right, like other temporal Sov-

eigns, but the actual representative of God, by him inspired, and consequently infallible. Democracy is the power of the law; Papacy eschews all law, as one of the conditions of its existence.

As soon as the Pope became alarmed at the tremendous progress of Liberalism, confiding utterly in Antonelli, he attempted a retrograde movement. This was ill-timed, and the revolution of 1848 placed him in considerable danger. He thought it best to go with the current, and accordingly appeared to sanction the desire of "*La Giovanne Italia*" for the expulsion of the Austrians, and even went so far as to countenance the formation of an Italian legion, and appointed Father Gavazzi its Chaplain. He soon imagined he had gone too far, and recalled them before they had time to meet the enemy.

In order to conciliate all parties, the Pope now made choice of a Liberal minister, Pellegrino Rossi. His choice was peculiarly agreeable to the people, from the fact of Rossi's having been the principal cause of the expulsion of the Priests from France. Rossi had been exiled in 1818 from Bologna, where he was Professor in the University, chiefly, it is supposed, on account of his religious principles, for he was a Calvinist. Rossi went to Geneva, where he married the daughter of Guizot, and following his father-in-law to Paris, attached himself to his fortunes. In France he rose to the highest dignity, and was made a Peer. Louis Philippe afterwards employed him upon the difficult mission of inducing the Pope to assist him in the expulsion of the Jesuits; a mission for which Rossi's superior talents, insinuating manners, and profound knowledge

of the intrigues of the Papal Court, peculiarly fitted him. The Pope (Gregory XVI.) besides being exceeding wroth at the object of the embassy, was terribly shocked at the idea that the "Most Christian King" should send him a Calvinist Ambassador. Rossi, however, succeeded in his mission. Some say this success was owing to his great diplomatic talents, while others affirm that he effected his object by means of some choice wines he brought from France, which were administered to the Pope, through the medium of the favorite Gaetano. Rossi was the confirmed enemy of the Jesuits. He aided in their banishment from Switzerland, and advised their expulsion from Rome by Pius IX. Besides this, Rossi, who by the fall of Louis Philippe had become a private citizen, had been elected a member of the Constitutional Council of Rome, and was committed to certain Liberal opinions.

He devoted himself with earnestness and firmness to reforming the most enormous abuses of the Papal Administration, besides which he laid a tax on the clergy, and little by little deprived the prelates of all the political offices they held. Pius IX. endured him for the sake of his own personal safety. Antonelli detested him, and there is little doubt his assassination was directed by the Cardinal, and executed by a member of the secret sect of the "Sanfédesti."

After the death of Rossi, Antonelli again came into power. The Pope then shut himself up in the Quirinal, refusing to receive any persons but Antonelli and the foreign Ambassadors. The mysterious death of Rossi was supposed by the people to be the signal for the outbreak

of the Sanfédesti, but the National Guards soon restored confidence.

The next morning a deputation was sent to the Pope, with a message requesting him to appoint a new Ministry. The Pope refused, and the people expressed their dissatisfaction, upon which the Swiss Guards fired on the crowd. All subordination was now at an end, and the Pope, greatly alarmed for his own safety, agreed to (under protest, however), the organization of a new Cabinet.

Considering himself now in extreme danger, the Pope meditated leaving Rome. The foreign Ambassadors all offered to secure his safe conduct into their respective countries, and fearing to irritate so powerful a country as France, by unwillingness to accept its offers of safety, he agreed to embark on board a French steamer, with M. d' Harcourt, at Civita Vecchia.

In the meanwhile, not having special confidence in a nation which had just dethroned its King, he set about negotiating for his safety with the traditional Allies of the Popedom, Austria and Bavaria.

The plans for his flight were laid and carried into effect by the wife of the Bavarian Minister, Count Spaur, a Roman lady of great beauty, and a secret political agent of the Court of Austria. She was devoted to the Pope, (with all due reverence, however,) for the exemplary conduct of His Holiness forbids even scandal itself to misinterpret her sentiments. She obtained passports for herself and Pius IX., under the names of Dr. Sumner Kann and his wife, from Munich, whilst the Count travelled outside as their servant. In this guise they reached Gaëta, the first

town on the Neapolitan frontier, and being there in safety, the Pope sent his compliments to the French Ambassador, saying, that intending to come to Civita Vecchia, he had gone to Gaëta by mistake.

After the flight of the Pope, a Republican Government was proclaimed, a Constituent Assembly elected, and a Constitution promulgated. One of the curious incidents connected with the Pope's exile, was the fact that he thundered a bull of excommunication from his retreat at the Government and people of Rome. The people in return met in solemn convocation, and deposed and excommunicated him.

Cardinal Antonelli, the Pope's Premier, was born at Somnia, near Terracina, in 1806. Although his family is said to be a very ancient one, and to have numbered amongst its members many distinguished historians, statesmen, and priests; two or three of them were, at different periods, *chef-de-brigands*, or in plain English, highwaymen romanticised by their picturesque costumes.

His father was the nephew of the celebrated Gasperone, a leader of brigands, as well known in the Roman States as Jack Shepherd and Dick Turpin in England, or the Harpers and Murrill in the United States. This robber, at the head of his band, was so powerful that not being able to conquer him by force, the Pope was compelled to treat with him. The circumstances which lead to this treaty have a curious political bearing. An Italian writer relates the story in this wise:

“The Austrian General, who had quelled the revolution of Naples some years before, crossed the Roman State

when going with a young daughter on a visit to the King of Naples. They fell into the hands of Gasperone, who, besides robbing them of everything, abused their persons in the most shameful manner, and then let them go, hardly covered with rags.

“The Pope was informed of the painful occurrence by the King of Naples himself, and answered that he was very sorry indeed; observing, however, that the event ought to be regarded as a special visitation of God, since the General and his young daughter were obstinate Protestants. The Prince of Metternich, however, was but little pleased with that ‘holy observation’ of the ‘very holy father,’ and, in the name of his Emperor, sent a threatening note to the Papal Government, saying it was time to put a stop to such iniquities, the cause of which was to be found in the anarchy of the Papal Government, because nothing of the kind happened in other parts of Italy.”

The Pope’s Ambassador succeeded in sowing discord among the brigands, and then concluded the affair with Gasperone and some of his most confidential friends, who agreed to lay down their arms and live honestly and quietly in some city, in consideration of a fair income, to be paid to them monthly, and a general absolution from all past crimes and sins. This being arranged, Gasperone and the other signers of the treaty surprised their companions, killed and beheaded them, receiving from the Prelate Governor of Anagni the sum of \$200 for each head which they presented.

Gasperone was still living in 1856, and free in Civita Vecchia; he behaved himself well, and often sat as a model assassin for artists.

Gasperone had but one sister. She married Joseph Antonelli, who was in partnership with the brigands, trading upon the results of their depredations, and occasionally sheltering them in the woods in which he lived. On that account he was sent to the galleys for life, during the government of Napoleon, in the year 1813; but, as soon as the Papal restoration took place, two years after, it was represented to the Pope that Antonelli had been condemned only because he was a prominent member of the Society of Holy Faith, and an officer of the bands of *Sanfédesti*, commanded by Cardinal Rufo; so that the Pope set him free, and then amply rewarded him.

Cardinal Antonelli was educated for the priesthood in the great seminary of Rome. Here he attracted the notice of Gregory XVI., and was by him employed in several confidential capacities. In 1841, he became Secretary of State; then, in quick succession, Treasurer of the Pope, and finally Minister of Finance in the place of Tosti. In 1847, a short time after his election to the Popedom, Pius IX. gave him a Cardinal's hat.

At that period Antonelli professed the same Liberal principles as the Pope. His blandness of manner, his ready wit, his great intelligence, inspired the Pope with a profound attachment, whilst his courage and decision of character inspired him with great confidence in his judgments.

In 1847, Antonelli, being President of a commission to inquire into the reforms required by the people, presented several liberal and patriotic propositions, but they all were

rendered abortive by the weakness and inaptitude of the Ministry, and the members of the Sacred College.

For some time Antonelli was very popular, especially when he was chosen to be the organ for the promulgation of the Constitution granted to the people in April, 1848—which of course turned out to be a nullity, perhaps it might be termed a brilliant illusion. He, however, consented to the Italian Liberals turning out to combat the Austrians, but it was soon ascertained that he had merely given his consent in order to get rid of the most turbulent spirits of Rome. Meantime, the revolution was progressing. Antonelli found himself an object of popular contempt. The people had discovered his treachery. He, in turn, fell under the distrust of the Cardinals and priesthood generally, who abhorred his professed Liberal principles; and therefore, he thought it prudent to resign. Mamiani was appointed in his place.

Mamiani was a man of extraordinary talent, possessed of sincere attachment to Liberal principles. Less mystic than Gioberti, he sought by his writings to sustain, in conjunction with Mazzini, the courage of his countrymen. In 1848, he returned to Rome after a long exile, and became one of the most prominent members of the moderate Italian party.

After the promulgation of the Constitution, when Italy was on the eve of revolution, he succeeded Antonelli as Prime Minister—a most trying position, placed as he was between the cowardice of the Pope, the exactions of the Ultra-Liberals and the principles of the Moderate party, to which he belongs. His principal object was the inde-

pendence of Italy, by means of a league between Rome, Tuscany, Sardinia and Naples; but opposed constantly by the other Ministers, frustrated by the Pope, who hated him, continually irritated by the attacks of the Clergy, and distrusted by the Liberals, Mamiani was soon forced to retire. He, however, left traces of his intelligent ministry, for the Roman States owe to him the introduction of the telegraph and the decimal system. When he retired from his ministry he went to Turin, where, in conjunction with Gioberti, he founded the Society of Italian Nationality.

This society has been dissolved since the commencement of the present war. The President of the Association, Marquis Pallavicino Triulzio, dissolved it, declaring "that the object of the Society was accomplished, and that the destinies of Italy were henceforth confided to the Government of 'il re gallantuomo,' 'the King of his word,' Victor Emanuel."

He again returned to Rome after the death of Rossi, and again he found Rome in the greatest difficulties. The Pope had just fled to Gaëta. He strove in vain to induce the Cabinet to act independently of the Pope, whom, however, he desired to maintain as head of the Church, and not as head of the State. He was favorable to the intervention of the French, believing that it alone could preserve freedom and save Rome from the invasion of the Austrians and the power of the Cardinals. As soon as the French entered Rome he retired from office, to Genoa, where he has ever since resided. He will be deemed by posterity a man of great talents, an eloquent orator, a

fine poet, and the founder of a philosophy partaking of the dogmatic skepticism of Kant, and the mystic sentimentalism of Gioberti. His prudence and moderation, useless at the time when Italy wanted men of decision and action, has entirely destroyed his popularity with the Liberal party of Italy. Mamiani is now fifty-seven years of age.

But to return to Antonelli. Although he resigned his public position to Mamiani, he did not therefore cease to be the private friend and counsellor of the Pope, and the secret instigator of his actions. It was he who corresponded in the name of Pius IX. with Charles Albert at a time when that Monarch exclaimed, "I am placed between the poison of the Jesuits and the poignard of the Republicans."

The Cardinal directed the choice of all officers and Ministers of State by the Pope. At his suggestion Pellegrino Rossi was chosen to succeed Mamiani. After the flight of the Pope to Gaëta, he joined the latter and there protested in his own name and that of his Holiness against the new Government.

The Cardinal also addressed a circular to the Courts of Austria, France, Naples and Spain, commanding them in the name of the Church to unite in the reëstablishment of Pius IX. to the chair of St. Peter.

During the residence of the Papal Court at Gaëta, the Cardinal took especial pains to testify his sympathies for Austria, and his hatred for France, by treating M. d' Harcourt, the French Ambassador, with marked coldness and hauteur.

After the capitulation of Rome he advised the Pope to treat the French with great reserve, and not to be too hasty in reëntering his capital under their auspices. To him are attributable the severe and repressive measures which distinguished the return of the Pope to power.

In 1850, he received the appointment of Minister of Foreign Affairs, which he still retains. A short time ago, in this capacity, he notified Austria and France of the intention of his Holiness to remain neutral during the present war.

The results of his administration have been disordered finances, the ruin of public credit, the decay of commerce and of science, the impunity of crime and universal discontent. The spirit of revolt is rife even in the Sacred College, the members of which dread the consequences of his extreme measures in public affairs and the consequent threatened interference of foreign Powers. He is known popularly by the soubriquet of "Il Papa Rosso," "The Red Pope."

In 1855, an attempt was made to assassinate him. He was wounded very slightly. He owes his retention of power to the fact that he presides over the deliberations of the Sanfédesti.

Shortly after the departure of the Pontiff from Rome in 1848, a distinguished Italian, destined to become the master spirit in directing and controlling the future of her revolution, appeared in Rome. This man was Guiseppi Mazzini. Born in Genoa in 1809, he was the son of a physician. His mother, a woman of uncommon talent and learning, devoted all her time and energies to

his education. His parents designed him for the law but he turned his attention to politics. At an early age he became remarkable among the Genoese youth for his austere manners and precocious eloquence.

His first essay in politics was the publication of a series of articles in the "*Indicator*" of Genoa, a journal established by himself. These attracted public attention to him. This journal was suppressed by the police. He renewed its publication at Leghorn with the same result.

In 1830, Mazzini was arrested on the charge of belonging to the Society known as "The Carbonari," and banished from Italy. He retired to Marseilles, where he founded the celebrated and world-renowned association called "La Giovanne Italia," or Young Italy. The rallying cry of this Society was "*Dio e Popolo*," "God and the People." Mazzini's intention was to establish the new freedom of Italy on the foundation of its ancient religion. One of the conditions of admission into the Order of "La Giovanne Italia" was that none of the members should exceed the age of forty. In 1833, Mazzini, spite of the opposition of Princes and the distrust of the people, set on foot a military expedition against Piedmont, which was commanded by Ramorino. It proved unsuccessful, but with the determination and perseverance which distinguished him, he reorganized another army, giving its command to General Ramorino. This time, in 1834, it was not only repulsed but completely destroyed and Mazzini for a time lost all his influence with the Italians. Ramorino served under Charles Albert in 1848, and was shot for his treachery and complicity with the Austrians. Mazzini retired to Switz-

erland, then went to Paris, and finally in 1842 settled in London. There he remained inactive and in comparative obscurity until 1844, when the fate of the brothers Bandiera attracted public attention once more towards him.

Attilio and Emilio Bandiera were the sons of a Venetian nobleman; both were in the service of Austria. Fascinated by the doctrines of "La Giovanne Italia," and the reputation of Mazzini, they, together with a brother officer, Domenico Moro, deserted the Austrian navy and joined the Liberal party of Italians, urging to revolt the forty thousand Italians who had been forced into the army and navy of Austria.

They established their head-quarters in Corfu, whence they corresponded with the malcontents and with Mazzini. Relying upon the boasted loyalty and good faith of England, they used no disguise. But like another far more illustrious personage, the Emperor Napoleon, who confided as they did in England's honor, they were deceived. The infamous conduct of Sir James Graham, who, though belonging to the Cabinet acted as a spy for Austria and Naples, and betrayed them by opening their letters, deserves the ineffable scorn of Christendom. They were by a treacherous strategem delivered over to their enemies and executed, together with their friend and associate Domenico Moro. They were fine young men, with noble hearts, enthusiastic and true. Attilio was thirty-six at the time of his death; his last words were, "We shall be more useful to Italy in dying than in living." His wife died of a broken heart, as she left her all after taking an eternal leave of him. Emilio his brother was twenty-

seven and Domenico Moro some years younger. Mazzini, although not a party to the Bandiera conspiracy, was made responsible for its failure, and has even been reproached with not having died with them. But Mazzini felt himself reserved for greater things than romantic martyrdom.

Whilst in London, in 1844, Mazzini founded a journal, called "*L' Apostolo Popolare*," "The Apostle of the People," a paper which excited the suspicions of the English Government, who seized his papers and accused him of complicity in the murder of two Italian spies in Paris. In 1847, Mazzini, deceived like the rest of the world concerning the intentions of the Pope, wrote to congratulate him on his Liberal principles. After the revolution of February, 1848, he repaired to Paris, where he presided over a club, and led a party of volunteers to the Hotel de Ville.

After this he repaired to Milan, where he organized several revolutionary clubs and protested against the annexation of Lombardy to Piedmont. His journal, entitled "The Italy of the People," caused a division in the Liberal party, which greatly contributed to the destruction of the newly-established independence of Lombardy. After the surrender of Milan, Mazzini enlisted for a short time under the banners of Garibaldi; but more able at the pen than the sword, he speedily retired to Lugano, where he wrote a pamphlet by which he achieved great celebrity.

He strove to demonstrate that the war of Kings had terminated and that the war of the people had commenced.

Being in Rome, Mazzini, in 1849, exhorted the new Re-

public to join with monarchical Piedmont. On the 23d of March of the same year, he was proclaimed Dictator of the Eternal City, and shared his power with Armellini and Saffi. Mazzini, amongst other decrees, insisted on all the religious ceremonies of Easter week (which occurred at this time) being performed. On the 17th of April, he promulgated the Constitution of the Republic. He now began to negotiate with the French *Envoyé Extraordinaire*, M. de Lesseps, through the French Minister resident, M. de Harcourt. Certain conditions were accepted by Lesseps, but their ratification was refused by General Oudinot and the French Government.

After having held out as long as possible against the French, he was at length obliged to surrender; and on the refusal of the Constituent Assembly to carry the war into the Provinces, he left Rome in disgust.

Again Mazzini retired to Switzerland, where he established, in conjunction with other political exiles, a sort of model national government. This was probably intended as a rehearsal of the administrative play they intended to enact when they should get a territory to govern. Tiring soon of playing this patriotic *role*, Mazzini left Switzerland and went to London, where he became president of the National Italian Committee, and in this capacity addressed his celebrated letter to the *Assemblée Nationale* in Paris, protesting against their proceedings.

In conjunction with Kossuth and Ledru Rollin, (all three at the head of the International Revolutionary Committee,) he contracted, in 1851, the great Mazzini loan, intended to set on foot, and to carry into execution, another Italian

insurrection. It broke out at Milan on the 6th of February, 1853, and terminated, as usual, in a victory of the Austrians. Mazzini, who in all his expeditions has rarely exposed himself to personal danger, contrived again to elude the vigilance of the Austrian police and to arrive once more safe in London, where he continued to mature other revolutionary plans.

All at once, in July, 1857, he made his appearance at Genoa, with a plan of insurrection which was as speedily put down as it had been formed. Nor was the simultaneous attempt at exciting a revolt at Naples, made by his deputy, Colonel Pisacoue, more successful. Again frustrated in his plans, Mazzini returned to London just in time to find that he was implicated, with Ledru Rollin, in an attempt to assassinate the Emperor of France; and being found guilty, by default, in the French courts, was condemned to perpetual exile from France by them. Since that time M. Mazzini has quietly resided in England.

There are many opinions with regard to Mazzini, even among his own countrymen professing liberal sentiments. By some he is idolized and idealized as the "Prophet of the Idea." He certainly was the founder of "*La Giovane Italia*," which has become the rallying-word for freedom in the Peninsula. He is not a man of action, perhaps only a man of theories; for he has not given proof of practical talent in any of his expeditions, nor has he displayed any of that military genius which, in revolutionary times, is requisite to convert a patriot into a hero. Or it may be that the only thing wanting to make a hero of him has been what has always failed him, success.

Montanelli, Garibaldi, Manin and Guerazzi, all men of action, and men of great personal courage and extraordinary energy of character, have surnamed him "The Evil Genius of Italy."

Mazzini, in the prime of his youth, has been thus described by one of his early friends and companions :

"Mazzini had a finely-shaped head, the forehead spacious and prominent, and eyes black as jet, at times darting lightning. His complexion was a pale olive; and his features, remarkably striking altogether, were set, so to speak, in a profusion of flowing black hair, which he wore rather long. The expression of his countenance, grave and almost severe, was softened by a smile of great sweetness, mingled with a certain shrewdness, betraying a rich comic vein. He spoke well and fluently; and, when he warmed upon a subject, there was a fascinating power in his eyes, his gestures, his voice, his whole bearing, that was quite irresistible. His life was one of retirement and study. The amusements common with young men of his age had no attraction for him. His library, his cigar, his coffee, some occasional walks, rarely in the daytime, and always in solitary places, more frequently in the evening and by moonlight,—such were his pleasures. His morals were irreproachable; his conversation was always chaste. If any of the young companions he gathered round him occasionally indulged in some wanton jest or expression of double meaning, Mazzini, God bless him! would put an immediate stop to it by some one word, which never failed of its effect. Such was the influence that the purity of his life and his incontestable superiority gave to him.

“He was well versed in history, and in the literature not only of his own but of foreign countries. Shakspeare, Byron, Goethe, Schiller, were as familiar to him as Dante and Alfieri.

“He wrote much and well, both in prose and verse. There is hardly a subject he has not attempted. Possessed of an indefatigably active mind, a passionate disciple of liberty, there breathed in his ardent soul an indomitable spirit of revolt against oppression of every sort. Kind and generous, he never refused advice or assistance. His amply-furnished library as well as his purse were always at the command of his friends.”

Mazzini, it is evident, is true to his self-appointed commission—the liberation of Italy. He has not modified the ideas he entertained in 1848. Then, as now, he belonged to the extreme right of the Liberal party, and bitterly denounced the action of Piedmont. He has recently published a manifesto, in which he denounces France and Sardinia with all his former bitterness increased and intensified by time. He declares that “the plans of Louis Napoleon and Victor Emanuel do not point to the liberation of Italy; they only seek the expulsion of the Austrians: Nice and Savoy are to go to France; Lombardy to Sardinia—a monarchy is to be erected out of the Central States for Prince Napoleon; Rome, with a small adjacent territory, is to remain under temporal pontifical rule, and a Murat is to reign in the South.”

His advice to the Italian patriots of the Centre and South of Italy is “to revolt, to establish Provisional Governments, prepare and consolidate an army in order to be

ready to vindicate Italian independence and nationality in case Louis Napoleon and the Sardinian Monarch should seek to impose on them either royal or imperial rule."

What effect this manifesto will have upon Italian politics remains to be seen. It is evident, however, that Mazzini has yet great influence in Italy; a large portion of the Republicans look to him for advice; they have been accustomed to follow his lead, and they believe him to be highly gifted with foresight and they know him to be disinterested. Thirty years filled with sacrifices of wealth, comfort, and position; thirty years of watchfulness, of services, and of exile, strike the imaginative minds of "*La Giovanne Italien*" with prodigious force and power.

The same fatal result may follow the issue of this manifesto which followed the promulgation of similar ideas in 1848, a division of the Italian patriots into separate and distinct parties alike distrustful of each other; neither having the power to overthrow the common enemy because of their want of unity of purpose and action. One then, as now, seeks the regeneration of Italy through the House of Savoy and Constitutional Monarchy; the other favors it by the establishment of a great Republic of confederated States. No sagacity merely human can tell what effect this conflict of ideas may have upon the future of Italy.

Since the close of the Revolution, the Pope is more an object of pity than aught else. He is maintained in his position by a foreign Power which he himself distrusts, and for which he has no sympathy. His government, since his return, has entirely been confided to Antonelli, and has been a melancholy exhibition of priestly administra-

tion in its worst features—those of rapacity and imbecility.

There have been no expressions of popular opinion in the Papal States since the beginning of the war. The object of this analysis upon the Papal Government and its practices since its restoration in 1815, has been to show that all its influence will be brought to bear in favor of the Austrians, and that the Papal See considers its safety, nay, its very existence, to hang dependent on the maintenance of the Austrian power in Italy, and on the prevalence of despotic rule in the Catholic world.

It is evident that Louis Napoleon believes the Pope's sympathies are with Austria, for he has placed his Army of Occupation in the Roman States upon a war footing, and that, too, notwithstanding the fact that his Holiness has formally proclaimed his neutrality.

CHAPTER XXIV.

NAPLES—MONTANELLI'S DESCRIPTION OF IT—BOUNDARIES—POPULATION
—PHYSICAL FEATURES—AGRICULTURE—TRADE—GOVERNMENT—ARMY
—SICILY—ETNA—EARLY HISTORY OF SICILY—CITY OF NAPLES—ITS
PUBLIC PLACES—THE LAZZARONI—THE KING'S PALACES—SAN CARLOS—
HOW THE BOURBONS CAME TO THE THRONE—DON CARLOS—FERDINAND
THE FIRST—HIS QUEEN—ACTON—RUFFO—THE KING'S VACILLATION AND
TREACHERY—FRANCIS I.—CARETTO—COCLE—FERDINAND II.—POERIO
—FRANCIS II. AND HIS QUEEN—GENERAL FILANGIERI.

NAPLES has been, for some years past, an object of interest to the civilized world. That interest has not arisen from her rapid commercial advancement, or the progress which freedom and the gentle arts of peace have made within her borders. It springs from a far different source. The cruelties inflicted by her Government, the brutality of her King to his subjects; imprisonments with their long years of tears and sufferings, made known by every avenue of intelligence, to the remotest corners of earth, have signalized and "damned to everlasting fame" the history of her late Monarch and his rule.

An Italian writer of great distinction thus symbolizes the condition of Naples in 1857:

"When the traveler, wandering amidst the ruins of Pompeii, reaches at length the summit of the amphitheatre of this exhumed city, how beautiful is the picture he be-

holds. Earth, ocean, and heaven reveal themselves in one eternal smile as delicious and radiant as the first bursting of dawn upon Eden. But beneath his feet are masses of ashes—the type of desolation and death; and at a distance the smoking craters of Vesuvius remind him that beneath these splendors, these sweet perfumes, this exquisite harmony of nature, lie concealed the most terrible elements of destruction.

“A like contrast exists between the present social and political condition of Naples and the lovely skies, genial climate, and other physical glories with which heaven has endowed this Kingdom.

“From the midst of the darkest ignorance flashes of genius gleam out. By the side of the enlightened philosophy of Bruno, Campanella and Vico, grovels superstition watching the miracle of St. Genarius; by the side of charity and patriotism are monsters like Canosa and *del Carretto*, the sublimity of Masaniello under the garb of a Lazzaroni.”

The Kingdom of Naples, otherwise “The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies,” consists of two large Provinces or parts: Naples proper on the Continent and the Island of Sicily. Naples proper is bounded on the North by the Adriatic and the Papal States; North-West by the Papal States; West, South and South-East by the Mediterranean; and North-East by the Adriatic. Its greatest length is from the North-West to the South-East, being 345 miles, and its greatest average breadth 95 miles.

Naples is divided, for governmental purposes, into fifteen Departments or Provinces. These all contain an area of

32,571 miles. The population of this Kingdom, including Sicily, in 1851, was 9,117,050, being an increase of no less than 412,578 persons in the space of five years.

The surface of the country is very much broken in the interior by the Apennine range, which, stretching from the Northern part of Italy, through the States of the Church, run down even to the Bay of Naples. Some of the peaks reach a height of near 10,000 feet: almost rivaling the haughtiest of the Alps. The sea coast upon the Adriatic is low and marshy, and forms few inlets or bays deep enough for commercial purposes. The Mediterranean coast consists of a succession of lofty headlands and promontories. The line of these is broken into by the sea in many places, and thus a large number of fine harbors are formed.

There is one most extensive and fertile plain within its boundaries, known as the plain of Apulia. It lies on the Adriatic side of the Peninsula and embraces large portions of the Provinces of Barri, Captanata and Otranto.

The principal minerals are marble, sulphur, alum and saltpetre.

There are a great many little rivers, but they run short distances. Being mere mountain torrents, they are not navigable.

The sirocco makes Naples very unhealthy from July until September. The low, marshy fens which cover a part of its Eastern and South-Eastern territory send forth malarious exhalations of a most deleterious character. From these and other causes, Naples has suffered frightfully when those periodical epidemics, such as the plague

and cholera, invade its territory. The nations whose territories border upon the Mediterranean seem to have been subjected more than any other portion of the western world to these visitations. All the inhabitants of the capital, or other cities of the Kingdom, who can afford the luxury of a country residence, retire during the hot months and the prevalence of these terrible diseases, into the hilly and mountainous ranges which lie in the rear of the capital.

The principal occupation of the people is husbandry, which is pursued in an antiquated and inefficient manner. All farming instruments are of the most incomplete and awkward character. There is no regular order observed in regard to the way in which the crops should succeed each other. According to a government survey, made in 1850, there are about 20,000,000 of acres of land; of which 11,761,392 are now under cultivation, and 2,304,676 in woods or forest; the remainder, embracing six-tenths of the whole, is either incapable of, or is not under, cultivation. The produce consists of melons, olives, rice, oil, wine, hemp, lint, cotton, maize, wheat, lemons, oranges, saffron and silk. The animal productions are sheep, goats, hogs, cattle and horses; the cattle are not numerous, and the horses are small. In the Eastern marshes are found a species of buffalo. Their size is contemptible when compared with their cis-Atlantic cousins on the Western prairies.

The manufactures of Naples have never possessed much vigor or energy. Hence they have never been extensively carried on. Such as they are, they are nearly all done by

artisans at their own homes — few large establishments existing for manufacturing purposes. Hence its commerce is very limited for so great a population as it possesses. The arrivals of vessels in the different sea ports in 1850 were 22,264; of these, 3,271 were foreign, with an aggregate tonnage of 300,507 tons. The clearances of the same year numbered 22,156; the foreign vessels carried 307,669 tons, these numbering 3,286.

Statistics of a more recent date show a slow advance in her commerce.

A recent authority has the following in regard to the general nature of her government and institutions:

“The government of Naples is an hereditary monarchy, which, from the absence or inefficiency of constitutional checks, makes a very near approach to despotism. A nominal parliament holds its sittings regularly at Naples, but its privileges are so restricted that all power, legislative as well as executive, virtually centres in the crown. Previous to 1837, the two Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily had each a species of Provincial Council called *Consulta*, but these have been since united in the *Consulta generale*, common to both Kingdoms. Numerous courts ascending gradually to a supreme court of cassation, have been erected for the administration of justice, which they are said to dispense with considerable impartiality, when the questions to be decided are strictly private; but when they happen to have a political bearing, the judges become mere tools of the court; indeed it is beyond a doubt that, in regard to political liberty and political justice, no country of Europe stands lower in the scale than Naples. The total number

of criminal offences in 1850, was 16,626. Of these, 4,016 cases, involving 5,805 accused, were brought before the high court, when 1,792 were liberated, and 4,513 condemned. The number of accused in 1835, was 5,617, being larger in proportion to the population than in 1850. The Roman Catholic is the established religion, and is nominally professed by almost all the inhabitants. Convents and nunneries are very numerous, and it is estimated that throughout the country, there is 1 monk for every 250 inhabitants. Education is entirely in the hands of the priests; the grossest ignorance and bigotry everywhere prevail, and all the thoroughfares swarm with mendicants. The revenue obtained partly by indirect taxes, but chiefly by an enormous land tax, amounting to a fourth of the rent, was estimated, in 1848, at \$18,536,885. The army, raised partly by conscription, and partly by voluntary enlistment, numbered in 1851, 106,519 men. The navy in 1851 comprised 3 ships of the line, 2 of them having 80 guns each; 5 frigates, 2 of 50 guns each; 1 of 48 and 2 of 46 each; 2 corvettes, 1 with 22 and the other with 14 guns; and 6 smaller vessels; besides these there are 12 steam-frigates and 12 other steam vessels: total 40."

The army upon a war footing, in which condition it now is, includes 143,586 men, and 8,897 horses. The navy at present numbers 121 vessels of all sizes, and they carry 746 guns. Its national debt amounted to \$77,280,000 in 1858; it is probably more now.

Sicily, the island part of the Kingdom, has an area of 10,556 square miles, and a population which in 1850 amounted to 2,041,583, and which was estimated in

1858 by an eminent English statistician to have reached 2,400,000.

This Island in its general features resembles the interior of Naples. An opinion prevails, based, however, upon tradition, that there was once a junction between it and the Continent. So far as history goes, there is nothing to sustain this opinion. There are so many evidences of volcanic agencies yet in existence in the vicinity, that there may have been a mighty convulsion at one time, which effected such a separation. Earthquakes of a most terrible and destructive character have repeatedly visited the island. Stromboli, Etna and Vesuvius are all active volcanoes. On all hands lie the evidences of the potent but secret forces of nature which are at work in this region.

Sicily has been noted for the abundance of its productions and consequently for the fertility of its soil, ever since history speaks of it. It was the granary of Rome for many ages after she conquered it from the Carthaginians. Its soil has not lost its productive power since. But a vast increase of productiveness could be imparted to it by modern agricultural improvements. The kind of government under which it groans, renders life stagnant and therefore effectually checks all disposition to progress.

One of the most striking features of the island is its lofty mountainous ranges. The giant which towers above them all, in comparison with which all others sink into insignificance is Etna; rising to a height of 11,000 feet, it seems to stand peerless and alone, defying time and waste. Travelers in all ages have visited it as one of the wonders of the world. At its wide spreading base is the richest

cultivation, the most delicious productions,—upon its sides desolation,—and upon its peaks eternal snow and flame.

Sicily abounds in the most delicious wines and fruits. The former have been celebrated in all ages. The old Roman poets, men of the most fastidiously cultivated physical tastes, who had reduced living to a refined science, speak of them in terms of the most extravagant praise; their sweetest verses overflow with the most delicate eulogies relative to its tone and flavor.

Its wine was not alone celebrated by these poets, they paid their elegant compliments to the delicacy of its fish, which are renowned to this day. Thousands of the Sicilians find active and vigorous employment in the fisheries.

The history of Sicily is a curious and interesting one. During many centuries it was separate from that of Naples. When the Romans, rendered effeminate by the luxurious debaucheries of centuries, were no longer able to hold it, the Goths became its masters; then the Saracen and again the German. The Angevin dynasty, were in turn its conquerors, and these gave way to a race of Aragonese Princes. The Crowns of Arragon and Castile having been united in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, Sicily became an integral part of the great Spanish Empire. It continued under this dynasty until, in 1706, it was transferred to Austria. Remaining under her rule for some years, it was finally consolidated with Naples into the Kingdom of the two Sicilies, under Don Carlos in 1735, and has since owned the sway of the Spanish Bourbons.

Its people have made several ineffectual attempts to throw off this yoke, but have never succeeded. In 1812, they had a Constitution granted to them of a very liberal character. After enjoying its privileges for a brief period, its people from want of proper knowledge of its beneficial provisions or from unfitness to live under any other form of government, save a despotism, suffered it to fall into disuse. They may now, however, be better fitted for such a form of Government.

Naples proper, from the very earliest period has undergone the strangest political mutations. One foreign conqueror after another has controlled her destinies. For century after century, no prince save one who could trace his origin from a foreign stock, has ruled over her. The conquest of her magnificent capital has nearly always been equivalent to the conquest of the whole country.

The city of Naples is situated upon one of the finest bays in the world; so spacious is it, that it has been said, that all the navies in the world could ride within it at anchor in perfect safety. The city itself is one of the largest in Europe, containing according to a census taken in 1850 over 400,000 people.

The streets of Naples are narrow though regular, paved with large masses of lava, the most indestructible of all paving material that has yet been used. The principal streets are the *Rue de Toledo* and the Chiaja. The former is full of life and people, displaying all the luxuries that wealth can purchase, in costly stuffs, jewels, books, plate, pictures, with magnificent buildings on either side, and a gay, motley, handsome, picturesque and dirty

population, from the Signore in their open carriages to the Lazzaroni, eating monstrous water-melons on the marble steps of noble palaces.

The Chiaja, which is the street where foreigners, especially the English, "most do congregate," offers the most beautiful positions for residences, not only in Naples, but perhaps in the civilized world: for it faces the bay of Naples. The Villa Reale, a beautiful public garden of Naples is here; presenting a delicious promenade, midst orange and citron trees, and every flower that temperate or tropical climates produce. There is, too, a broad terrace, built up on the very borders of the sea, whence the view, by moonlight, of the blue Mediterranean, studded with its islands, animated by its shipping, and its flitting skiffs with the red light of the fisherman, is magical.

One of the curious relics of Naples is the house of Masaniello, which still exists in the market place. The Piazza del Mercato is the most favorable place for seeing the peculiar characteristics of Naples, for here the Lazzaroni are seen in all their glory. Gay, joyous, good-humored, reckless of the future, possessing nothing in the world, without aim or ambition, the Lazzaroni remains and has remained Lazzaroni for centuries, in the midst of civilization and all its progress; clad in the simplest garment, which affords but just the necessary covering, the street his home, the porticos of the churches and palaces his bed, no roof to shelter him but Heaven, he is the happiest of human beings; laughing, dancing, singing, accepting readily any work that offers; (till he has earned enough for one day, after which he sleeps in the sun;) his

children grow up Lazzaroni around him, and the sparkle of the bright black eyes, the insinuating, coaxing ways, contribute to the fortune of their parents; for without begging, they obtain alms.

The King has a fine palace in Naples, where he holds his State Court. It is near the sea, at one end of the Grand via di Toledo. The favorite residence of the royal family, that in which the King died, is at Carieta, a village in the interior, about ten miles north of Naples, and a little south of Capua. This most delicious residence was built on an elevation by Charles III., and from its various beauties deserves the preference which the Sovereigns of Naples have ever displayed for it.

San Carlo is the largest theatre in Europe being, together with La Scala, at Milan, the school for all the great lyric artists that have become renowned in their profession.

When Philip V., grandson of Louis XIV., came to the throne of Spain, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was an appendage of his crown. The Hapsburgs did not admit the validity of his claim. Hence the war of the Spanish succession. Several times during the stormy period which signalized the first thirty years of the eighteenth century, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies changed masters. The Austrian Archduke, Charles Philip's rival for the crown, invaded it in 1707, and was quietly recognized as its Sovereign.

By the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, confirmed by that of Rastadt in the following year, Sicily passed into the hands of Victor Amadeus, then reigning Duke of Savoy.

Naples remained in the hands of the House of Austria. These treaties were broken through four years afterwards by Cardinal Alberoni. But Philip was compelled, in 1719, to sacrifice his ambitious Minister to the jealousy of the European Powers, and accede to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance. Sicily, in order to be reunited to Naples, was taken away from the Duke of Savoy, who received the island of Sardinia in exchange, and then, for the first time, assumed the title of King of Sardinia.

The Neapolitans remained under the control of Austria until the "War of the Polish Election" broke out, in 1731. Don Carlos, eldest son of Philip V., by Elizabeth Farnese, invaded the southern part of the Peninsula, with 30,000 men. He overran and conquered both Provinces of the Kingdom without any serious opposition.

In 1735, a general treaty was concluded at Vienna, by which all difficulties between the Emperor on the one side, and Spain and France on the other, were settled. By its provisions, Don Carlos was confirmed in the possession of his conquest. He continued to reign until 1759, when he was called to the throne of Spain. He is known in history by the appellation of Charles of Bourbon. He reigned in Naples under the title of Charles VII., but when called to the Spanish crown, took the title of Charles III., just as James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England.

The long and bloody contest which broke out in 1741, and which is known in history as the war of the Austrian succession, was terminated in 1748, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, a contest in which Maria Therese had ga-

lantly sustained herself against a multitude of enemies, and had preserved intact her imperial rights and dignities. By this treaty, Don Carlos was reconfirmed in the possession of his Neapolitan crown. A restriction was inserted in the treaty which forever prohibited the union of the crowns of Naples and Spain upon the head of one person. Spain was no longer an Italian power; all pretexts for farther interference in the affairs of the Peninsula were thus taken away.

The reign of Charles was distinguished for the cultivation of the arts of peace. His capital was his great pride, and he spent large sums of money in its embellishment. In this he was perhaps controlled, to some extent, by the tastes and opinions of Tanucci, his Prime Minister,—a man of excellent education, virtuous intentions, and moderate talents.

Charles married Marie-Amelie, a Saxon Princess. His eldest son was a hopeless idiot; his second son succeeded him upon the throne of Spain; and Ferdinand, his third son, took his place in the Kingdom of Naples. The elevation of Ferdinand was in direct contravention of the rights of succession, secured by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Parmesan branch of the family. But Charles was suffered to place his son upon the Neapolitan throne, without disturbance. Ferdinand at the time of his accession, was a boy eight years of age, he having been born in 1751, at Naples, and his father ascending the Spanish throne in 1759. The education of this Prince was confided to Tanucci and the Prince of San Nicandro, who allowed him to do much as he pleased, and utterly to

neglect all those studies that could develop his intellect, and fit him for the position he occupied. Spending his time in hunting, billiards, tennis and other physical exercises, he left the whole management of public affairs to his Ministers.

At nineteen he married Marie Caroline an Archduchess of Austria; a marriage as unfortunate in its results for Naples as all alliances have been between Bourbon Kings and Austrian Princesses. Marie Caroline seized upon the reins of Government, establishing one of her favorites, Acton of infamous memory, in the post of Prime Minister. Ferdinand became a mere cypher. In 1794, he joined his fleet to those of Spain and Naples, and declared openly against France. Meantime public discontent obliged him to dismiss Acton, who, though he lost his position still retained his power over the Queen. After signing a treaty of peace with the French, he openly violated it whilst Bonaparte was in Egypt. Placing General Mack at the head of twenty thousand Neapolitans, he assailed the dominions of the Pope, then occupied by the French, and Ferdinand himself at the head of a division of twelve thousand men entered Rome. His triumph was, however, of short duration. Mack, beaten by Championnet, fled to the French camp, whilst the cowardly King hastened to place himself under the protection of Nelson, abandoning his capital to the Lazzaroni. From the Admiral's ship, Ferdinand, with the assistance of Acton, suppressed all the rights of the Neapolitan citizens, took away their constitution, and placed Naples at the mercy of Cardinal Ruffo, who decimated its people with fire and sword. Hav-

ing accomplished these acts of tyranny, for which the Queen must bear the greater part of the odium, he retired to Palermo, and did not re-enter his Capital until 1800.

Ferdinand, Caroline, and Acton then passed six years in alternately siding with England, France and Austria, whilst their subjects at home suffered every sort of oppression. After the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon sent thirty thousand men under the command of Massena to Naples, and in two months its conquest was effected, and Murat was placed on its throne.

Ferdinand again fled to Sicily, then under the protection of the English. But even this refuge was lost to him by the conduct of the Queen, whose pride, deeply wounded by her dependence on England, led her to intrigue with the French. Ferdinand was forced to abandon the Government of Sicily to his son, the Duke of Calabria, until the year 1814, when Bentick, the English Admiral, quitted the Island. The next year (1815) reinstated Ferdinand in the Kingdom of Naples. He reascended the throne with the most liberal protestations. "The people," said Ferdinand, "shall be the true sovereigns; I, merely the agent to administer the laws, as may be best for their ultimate and permanent good."

This, of course, was a mere vain promise. The King renewed his despotic policy through his Ministers and favorite. The Carbonari, which was a political society, originating in Calabria, intended to repel the French invasion, now turned its attention towards Austria, who had been induced by Ferdinand to assist in supporting his throne; a society aiming at restoring, at once, political and national

liberty. At the Congress of Verona, in 1822, the Great Powers decreed that, for the safety of the kingdom, the Austrians should continue to occupy and protect Naples. The police, headed by Canose, once an agent of the Queen, one of her secret spies, encouraged accusations, filled the prisons, and caused the levy of heavy taxes, until Naples fell into a state of abject degradation. Occasionally, under the inspiration of some member of "*La Giovanne Italia*," the people would rise, on which occasions Ferdinand would appear on his balcony, and promise not only one, but any number of constitutions, if they wished; in reality, the Government had relapsed, hopelessly, into the absolutism of 1799.

After the death of Marie Caroline, whom he was fortunate enough to lose, Ferdinand married an amiable woman, the Dowager-Duchess of Patrana, whom he created Duchess of Floridia.

Ferdinand was the father of Maria Amelié, the wife of Louis Philippe. Caroline of Naples, his first wife, was one of the three daughters of Maria Theresa of Austria, of whom it has been said, "the eldest, Marie Antoinette, destroyed the Monarchy of France, the second brought ruin on the house of Parma, whilst the last, Caroline, destroyed Naples."

Ferdinand was succeeded by his son Francis I., 1824. This Prince was not sanguinary by nature. He was a strange mixture of ignorance, bigotry, and libertinism. The ingenious methods of torture and persecution practised by his Minister of Police, Viglia, amused him. He passed his life in prayer, in the observances of the forms of

religion, and in beating his wife, who led a very dissolute life. All at once a cry for liberty was raised at Cilento, in 1827, then the services of Xavier del Carretto were called into requisition, and scaffold, fire, sword, and chains were used to compel the Neapolitans once more to submit. Francis I., as before remarked, was not a man of sanguinary instincts, and his imagination was haunted in his last days by visions of the numerous victims sacrificed by his barbarous Ministers. On his death-bed, after an agony of many days, believing that he heard the cry of the mob for a Constitution, he extended his skeleton arms to his son, and exclaiming, in an imploring tone, "Give it to them, give it to them," and expired.

Francis Xavier, Marquis del Carretto, comes of an obscure family, which originally emigrated from Piedmont to Sicily. He was brought up at the Polytechnic School of Naples, and entered the army in 1806. He served the Bourbons with a zeal and intelligence which was rewarded by a rapid promotion. Still he took an active part in the Revolution of 1820, being then Aid-de-camp to General Pepe. When, however, the Austrian bayonets had subdued the insurrection, Del Carretto adroitly declared he had only joined the patriotic party with the desire of pushing it to such extreme measures as would compromise and destroy it. This lucky interpretation of his conduct ensured him the favor of the Court.

Francis I. gave him the command of the *Gendarmerie*. Invested with this power, he began to display his cruel and tyrannical character. Having gone to Salerno to suppress a revolt, with six thousand men, he burned the village

of Bosco, and razed its castle to the ground, merely because it had been the residence of one of the chiefs of the insurrection. He put to death also an old man of eighty, and nineteen other persons who had given themselves up, upon the express condition of free pardon. For this performance, exactly suited to the spirit of the Court, he was made a Marquis, and to this day the people call him in memory of his barbarity, Marchese del Bosco.

On the accession of Ferdinand II. (Bomba), he was appointed Minister of Police, being considered the only man capable of repressing the continual insurrections which broke out in all parts of the kingdom. He was, for his ruthless cruelty, surnamed "*Braccio e cuor di ferro.*" In 1837, being sent to Sicily during the raging of the cholera, Del Carretto left at Catane and Syracuse the most terrible traces of his tyranny. More than a hundred victims were sacrificed; he, himself, presiding in person over the executions, and putting people to torture in order to make them reveal conspiracies more imaginary than real. Ferdinand relied on Carretto, finding in his cruelty and tyranny a substitute for the foreign troops, which, in other sovereignties of Italy, kept the people in subordination. Del Carretto contrived to keep Monsignor Cocle, the King's Confessor, and a Jesuit Priest, on his side, and, together, these two ambitious and ruthless men governed the King, and through him the whole Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. To Cocle, Del Carretto confided the administration of the prisons, a most important appointment. The political prisoners amounted, during his administration, to over twenty-five thousand. How he executed the duties of his

trust has been revealed by the efforts made by Mr. Gladstone to obtain redress for these unhappy victims of savage despotism.

Upon the accession of Pius IX. in 1846, when a reaction took place, all over Italy, in favor of freedom, the Marchese del Carretto violently opposed the spread of the liberal reforms which signalized that epoch. Finding they gained ground, and alarmed at the serious appearance of the outbreak in Calabria, the Minister disavowed the acts of the Government, throwing all the responsibility on his colleagues and the Sovereign.

Another outbreak at Palermo so much frightened the King, that, thinking to appease the people, he had Del Carretto arrested by General Filangieri. The Marchese had just time to save himself from popular fury by embarking on board a small steamer in the bay, in which he left Naples. The people of Genoa, Leghorn, and all the Italian ports, refused to allow him to land, and ingnominiuously drove him from their shores. At length he reached Marseilles, and thence proceeding to Montpellier, lived in retirement until the King, feeling sufficiently safe, recalled him to Naples, took him into greater favor than ever, though he never dared to place him in the Cabinet again.

Del Carretto is execrated by the people, and is an object of contempt and detestation to the Italian patriots. In person he is remarkably handsome; his bearing at once courteous and noble, his insinuating and gentle manner, contributed much to procure him favor with Bomba; whilst these advantages make it impossible to believe him capable

of the barbarities he has perpetrated, did not his acts affirm it, and were not the misery and debasement of the Neapolitans terrible witnesses against him.

Ferdinand II. succeeded his father in 1830. He had been married, in 1832, to Christine Marie, daughter of Victor Emanuel I., of Sardinia. He was but twenty years of age when he ascended the throne. Even at that early age he developed a strong passion for money, which led him to begin a curtailment of the public expenditures. His father's favorite Viglia, who had been in the habit of farming out all the public offices, was promptly dismissed. Ferdinand became his own broker, and thus saved to himself all the commissions which his father's favorite had been in the habit of pocketing.

From the very moment of his accession to the throne he gave the largest encouragement to the priests, the police, and the army. Despotic power was conferred upon Del Carretto, the Minister of Police. Cocle, the King's Confessor, a Jesuit priest, controlled all spiritual affairs. Filangieri directed, without interference, the operations of the army. This trio were devoted to Absolutism and Austria. In the suppression of the various popular outbreaks which took place in the Neapolitan Kingdom in 1847-48-49, they committed unspeakable outrages and atrocities.

Before this, in 1837, whilst the cholera was decimating Syracuse, fifty-five supposed conspirators were shot by order of the King, even in the midst of death and desolation. During the same year, with the consent of the King, the Jesuits took charge of every department of

public education. Thus were restored to full power the order which one of the wisest of his ancestors had expelled, nearly a century before, from Naples.

His innovations upon popular rights did not stop here. The old Constitution of Sicily was abolished, and a tax put upon salt and tobacco. This last measure produced great public discontent.

At the accession of Pius IX., there was a popular outbreak at Messina, in Sicily, and Reggio, in Calabria. This revolt was immediately suppressed by the severe bombardment of these two cities. It was from the fondness that Ferdinand II. had for punishing revolted cities in this way that he received the *soubriquet* of Bomba; by which he has been almost exclusively known for the last ten years.

In January, 1848, ten thousand men marched upon Naples, and demanded a liberal government. He swore, and reswore, and even suggested refinements in his oaths, to observe the Constitution which this formidable demonstration had forced him to grant. Poerio and other distinguished men identified with the patriots, were called to his counsels.

Charles Poerio was born in Naples in 1803. He is the son of an eminent lawyer who, having mingled in politics, was twice exiled. In 1843 he died. His son, who had accompanied him in his banishment, received under his auspices a solid and brilliant education, applied himself to the consideration of the political position of his country, mingling largely in the conspiracies set on foot by the Liberals for the enfranchisement of Italy from the Bourbon

race and foreign rule. Between 1837 and 1838, Poerio was often arrested. In 1848, when Ferdinand was forced to give his people a Constitution, Poerio was taken from a prison and made Minister of Police, and afterwards Minister of Public Instruction. Believing in the sincerity of the King, and the triumph of the revolution, Poerio applied himself to the amelioration of things in the various departments of the State. After the fatal collision of the 15th of May, which he sought by all means in his power to prevent, he left his seat in the new Parliament until its dissolution in 1849.

Refusing to find safety in flight, he was arrested with forty other patriots, tried and condemned to twenty-four years hard labor.

Loaded down with chains, dragged from prison to prison, he became the victim of unheard of brutalities and tortures. He was one of the victims whose sufferings Mr. Gladstone especially denounced; sufferings which Poerio bore with the heroism of a martyr. At length, in 1857, he was embarked, with other political offenders, on board a vessel bound for South America. Poerio effected his escape and reached England in safety. He is now in Sardinia, aiding by his talents and advice the efforts of Count Cavour to liberate Italy.

When, after the battle of Costenza, the popular movement in Italy had been suppressed, Bomba abolished the Constitution—having received a special dispensation and absolution, for his royal perjury, from the Pope. By an infamous device he entrapped the people into the streets of Naples, he bombarded the city, and abandoned it to be

pillaged at will by the Lazzaroni, and the people to be brutally murdered by these outcasts. No less than 1500 citizens of Naples perished in this massacre.

Filangieri was again sent to reduce Sicily to obedience, which he accomplished with the same ferocity as had marked his course the year before. Again, in 1849, he went through the same process of horror and decimation. Since Mr. Gladstone made those terrible revelations in 1851, which drew so conspicuously the attention of the world to the multiplied, systematic cruelties of the King, he was a target for the contempt and hatred of all mankind. He led a life cursed with fears of assassination. By day and by night he had no rest. Marks of reproach, of contumely, of expressions of bitterness and sarcasm, unnameable oaths of denunciation and menace were uttered hourly against him by the oppressed millions of his subjects.

The moral sense of the rulers of England and France was shocked so that they remonstrated strongly with him about his unmitigated barbarities and atrocities. The only revenge the spiteful, petty tyrant could take, was to break off diplomatic intercourse with these two great nations.

But he is dead. He died amid torture and agony; he died of a lingering disease for which science has no name; he died amid the execrations of millions.

In person he had all the characteristics of the Bourbon family. His face and person strongly resembled those of Louis XVI., if the portraits of the latter which are in existence be correct.

In order to fulfil to the letter the destinies of the Bourbons, he married an Austrian Princess, Maria Theresa Isa-

bella, daughter of the Archduke Charles, brother of Francis I.; a woman who, in disposition, pride, and ambition resembles Caroline, the wife of Ferdinand I. She had great influence over the King, and is said to have essayed in every way to induce either the King or the people to set aside the only son of Ferdinand and his first wife, named Christine of Savoy, in order to place on the throne her own son, born in 1838.

Francis II., however, has ascended the throne without opposition. It is scarcely possible to form a judgment as to what he will be. He has led a very secluded life, and been evidently kept at a distance from the Court, and especially from the city. His education has been ill directed, probably not without intention. When an infant he was placed in the hands of the priests. He is very assiduous in the practices of devotion; his bed is completely covered with amulets, rosaries and relics. Timid and shy, he knows no one and no one knows him.

He has, nevertheless, many partisans, many who believe in his liberal sentiments as well as in his capacity. Some think that, like the patriot of Ancient Rome, he is feigning imbecility to lull suspicion, and that he will, at the proper time, turn out a Brutus. His young wife is the only person, except the priests, who has an influence over him, from the contrast rather than the similarity of their characters. She has obtained his affection. She is young, lively, and spirited, violently opposed to the Dowager-Queen, and evidently determined to have her own way. Her sympathies are all Austrian.

It was supposed that upon the accession of the new

King, the harsh features of Bomba's policy would, in some measure, be modified. But public expectation was doomed to disappointment, Cerretto, Filangieri, and all the old Ministry and crown officers are as yet retained. Nor has he changed the policy of his father toward England and France. The master spirit in the direction of his majesty's affairs is said to be General Filangieri

Charles Filangieri was born in Naples, in 1785. His father was a man of celebrity and genius, who died, however, when he was a boy, confiding Carlo and his brother to the care of their mother, a woman of remarkable intelligence. The persecutions of 1799 obliged Charles and his brother to fly from their native city, and together they proceeded without any resources on foot to Paris.

Here the name of their father introduced them to the notice of the first Consul, who, interested by their youth and misfortunes, admitted them into one of the military colleges of France. Charles Filangieri came out with the rank of Sub-Lieutenant, and was made Captain at the battle of Austerlitz. After this, the two countries of Naples and France being governed by the same ruler, Charles Filangieri entered into the service of Naples under Murat. This Sovereign sent him to Spain, where Filangieri distinguished himself for his valor and his numerous duels. In one of these he was so unfortunate as to kill his opponent, General Francheschini. During the campaign of 1815, being then Colonel of the Staff, he signalized himself by an act of daring bravery, whilst upon a reconnoissance at the Bridge of Tanaco. He was there seriously wounded by the Tyrolese sharp-shooters. He was for his share in this ac-

tion promoted to the rank of General and decorated with the Order of the Two Sicilies, by Murat himself on the battle field.

When the Constitution of 1820 was proclaimed, Filangieri sided with the Royalists, opposing the influence of General Pepe. Spite of this, however, he fell into disgrace with the Court, and was not reinstated in favor until after the accession of Ferdinand II., when the King conferred upon him several important offices.

In 1848, having seen General Pepe preferred to himself as Commander of the troops sent by Ferdinand to aid the Italian patriots, he crushed out all his sympathy for their cause, and devoted himself entirely to the interests of the King. Henceforth, a docile instrument of his tyranny, he obeyed his orders blindly. In 1848, he was Commander-in-chief of the Expedition against Sicily, when he bombarded Messina and took it after an obstinate resistance. After this he completed the subjection of Sicily and restored it to the sway of Bomba. He always maintained a high place in the favor of the King.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FRANCO-RUSSIAN ALLIANCE—MANIFESTO OF GORTSCHAKOFF—WIN-
DISCHGRATZ—ENGLAND AND PRUSSIA—THE MINOR GERMAN POWERS.

SOON after it became apparent that a conflict was inevitable between France and Austria, it was suddenly announced that the Czar had formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Napoleon relative to the present war. The *London Times* went so far in its statements concerning the text of the treaty as to point out the manner in which Alexander and Louis Napoleon were about to reconstruct the map of Europe. France was to get Savoy, and have her old boundary restored, Sardinia to annex Lombardy, and Russia to take the Moldo-Wallachian Provinces. Other nice little territorial arrangements were to be effected, which would be entirely satisfactory to the high contracting parties!

The simple announcement of the existence of an alliance of an unusual character, between these two great empires produced a great sensation throughout Europe. Stocks fell, the public bonds were lowered in price, and financial consternation existed on the Bourse and every commercial mart of Europe. In England alone, it is stated upon high authority, over one hundred mercantile firms, considered

sound up to that time, failed hopelessly. Even the official declaration of Mr. Disraeli that no treaty so extensive in its provisions existed, failed to reassure the people of England. Nor did the denial of the *Moniteur*, nor the declarations of Count Walewski to the same effect, at first satisfy and quiet the European mind.

Gradually, as events transpired, a healthy reaction took place in the financial world; alarm yielded to inquiry; and facts hushed doubts. The exact extent to which the treaty obligations of Russia and France have gone is not known, with certainty, by any but the negotiators themselves. So far as they have been disclosed they amount simply to this:—Russia agrees to place a heavy army upon the frontiers of Germany, ready to march at a moment's notice into the heart of Germany, should the States of the Confederation intervene on behalf of Austria in the contest of the latter, in Italy, with France and Sardinia.

This much is known to be certain—Gortschakoff, the Prime Minister of Russia, sent a circular to the Russian envoys at the various Courts of Germany, informing them of the position Alexander has assumed. But, then, the inquiry naturally arises what has caused this sudden and close friendship between two Emperors whose armies met but the other day in the lists of battle? What equivalent is France to render to Russia for taking this attitude? That there is some equivalent guaranteed cannot be doubted. Russia is the least disinterested of nations, and Alexander II. has too much sense to re-enact the part towards the present which his ancestor Paul did to the first Napoleon. What this equivalent is can only be surmised.

The probability is that it is to be "indemnity for the past and security for the future" in the shape of a large slice of the Turkish territory.

That the alliance is closely cemented may be fairly inferred from the fact that at a recent entertainment, given to the Russian Archduke Constantine, at Athens, toasts were drank to the Franco-Sardinian Army and to the Franco-Russian Alliance, and these were hailed with tremendous enthusiasm. The Prince is said to have been peculiarly gratified, both with the sentiments thus expressed and with the applause with which their utterance was met.

Russia has so far fulfilled her part of the treaty, that she has concentrated large masses of men within a short distance of the German frontier; and whenever the Germans, who seem to be so wild with excitement against France, shall make the slightest demonstration of hostility, Russia will strike with all her power.

This alliance, if continued and extended to other things, will essentially disturb that myth of European diplomacy and European wars, the Balance of Power. Russia and France, if cordially united, can repartition Europe, and blot out all geographical vestiges or traces now visible upon its map. There is not either the strength or force, if combined and cemented, to oppose successfully the designs of such allies. The world has never beheld such physical power as they can bring into the field. But such an alliance contains within itself, fortunately for the liberty of the world, the elements of natural dissolution. These empires have too many opposing interests for the *entente cordiale* to exist very long. The fact that such a union

has been even temporarily accomplished is strong evidence of the rare sagacity and wonderful intellect of Louis Napoleon.

Austria has felt this, and has used all the means in her power to countervail and overcome its effects. She has sent the notorious Prince Windischgratz—one of her military butchers of 1848—to St. Petersburg, to detach Russia from her connection with France. His mission has not yet been successful.

It is evident, from recent events, that England and Prussia are drawing closer together. Doubtless their purpose is to put an end to the war as soon as possible. Whilst they openly profess neutrality, they are rapidly arming, in order to be able to interfere with energy and decision, should their interests render action imperative.

The minor Powers of Germany, like Bavaria and Saxony, are anxious to become parties to the war against France but are deterred because Prussia has not taken the lead, and because Russia occupies so menacing a position.

CHAPTER XVI.

MARCH OF THE FRENCH ARMY TO PIEDMONT — THEIR NUMBERS — THEIR ROUTES — ANECDOTES OF THE SOLDIERS — DEPARTURE OF THE IMPERIAL GUARD FROM PARIS, AND RECEPTION IN PIEDMONT.

THE French troops crossed the Alps by two routes: that of Chamberry and Grenoble. Those who went from Paris proceeded to Lyons, and thence to St. Jean de Maurienne, in Savoy, by railroad. From the latter point they had to march through the Col of Mt. Cenis and descend to Susa, where the Victor Emanuel railroad begins. This road runs thence to Turin, a distance of twenty miles. The distance which that portion of the army which crossed Mt. Cenis by this route had to march is about fifty-six miles.

Those who passed the Alps by the Grenoble road either crossed by the Romanche-Drac road, or by Gap and Embrun. The former is more difficult and hilly than the latter, and therefore less practicable for troops of all kinds, but more especially for artillery. Both these roads terminate at Briançon. From thence they marched by the Mount Genevre road to Susa.

Mont Cenis is the principal peak of the Cottian Alps. The pass of the Col attains a height of 6,880 feet. A little more than two-thirds the way up this pass is the celebrated monastery built by Charlemagne. To this Napoleon added a set of barracks, a church, a post of gendarmery, and a

crenulated wall. These all form a kind of intrenched camp. Ten thousand men could hold this position against almost any force which could attack them.

There are a number of historical recollections connected with this pass which deserve mention. In 1802, Napoleon stopped there on his way to Italy. Pope Pius VII., on his return from the Coronation of Napoleon, lay sick there for some time, and was only restored to health by the assiduous kindness of the monks.

The first division of French troops began their march through this pass on the 24th of April. The weather was intensely cold, and the roads heavy, and in some places blocked with ice and snow, which had to be removed ere the troops could pass. But their vivacity and energy enabled them to overcome these obstacles. An official document, published on the 14th of May, announced the fact, "that up to that time not less than 60,550 troops had passed: of these, 20 regiments of the line numbered 48,000 men, 5 battalions of riflemen 4000, 12 batteries of artillery 2400, 2160 horses, and 72 guns; 27 squadrons of cavalry, 4050 men, and as many horses, 4 companies of commissariat, 600 men, and various other minor branches of the service, making up the sum total."

The report announces that 20,000 more men were to enter Italy by that route.

General Bruat had the vanguard in this march. He was exhausted by the intense labor necessary to climb these heights, and without any regard to the laws of vitality, when he reached the top of the pass, he gulped down glass after glass of snow water. He fell as if he had been

shot. His troops carried him forward to Susa, where he died. He was about forty-five years of age. He was a brave man, full of activity and energy, who had seen a good deal of hard service. He was not highly gifted with intellect. General Trochu succeeded him in command.

Subsequently, General Vinoy led a division by this route, into Piedmont. His artillery, numbering many pieces, accomplished the trip in nine hours.

Another authority states, that, up to the 10th of May, 20,000 men had passed through Grenoble, and would enter Savoy by this route.

Several anecdotes are told illustrative of the careless gayety and wit of the French soldiery. A private of the 63d regiment of the line—a regiment which was among the first to pass Mt. Cenis—who had toiled up its sides carrying an enormous pack, remarked :

“That if *le bon Dieu* had climbed Mt. Cenis with a pack on his back, before he made the mountains, he would not have made them so high.”

A trooper in the streets of Lyons had lost his way, and wanted to be shown to the station *de Vienne*. He was about to take the road leading to Vienne, a town in Dauphiny, when told that this road would not take him to Mt. Cenis, he declared, “that he wanted to go to Vienna in Austria, *by the road which led past Marengo.*”

An eye witness thus describes the departure, from Paris, of a part of the Imperial Guard, which has so highly distinguished itself at the recent battle of Magenta :

“Several regiments of the Imperial Guard left yesterday, and as each regiment stopped at the Tuilleries to receive

its flag, (all the flags of the Guard are kept at the Palace when the regiments are not on duty,) the Emperor, Empress, and Imperial Prince, came out to salute them. The Emperor shook hands with the Colonels, bade them God speed, and assured them that he would soon join them on the plains of Italy. A touching incident occurred on Saturday as one of the regiments of the Guard approached the Tuileries. The *cantinier* of this regiment, on coming up opposite the Palace, at the bureau of the officers of their Majesties, inquired if it was not there that the Secretary of her Majesty the Empress was to be found. On receiving an affirmative reply, she stepped out of the ranks, leading by the hand a little girl of six or eight years of age, and entering the bureau, exclaimed, 'Gentlemen, I leave you my child! Conduct her to the Empress, I know she will take good care of her till I return from Austria!' Thus the mother left her child, happy in the thought that she would be well taken care of during her absence. She was not mistaken, for as soon as her Majesty was informed of the circumstance, she sent for the child, and at once gave orders that she should be well taken care of till her mother comes back from the war."

The French troops were enthusiastically received everywhere as they advanced into Piedmont. The people of Sardinia appeared to regard them as liberators. They everywhere fraternized with them, and paid them the highest marks of esteem. At Turin, Genoa, and Alessandria, their reception was particularly warm and gratifying.

The following description of the entrance of the Van-

guard into Turin, will give an idea of the hearty earnestness of their welcome :

“I have just returned from witnessing the entrance of the first installment, the Nineteenth battalion of the Chasseurs de Vincennes. The National Guards were under arms at six this morning to receive them. It was past eight before they arrived, and at a little before nine they marched down the Via Santa Teresa, which leads direct from the railway terminus into the heart of the city. The reception they met was enthusiastic. The windows were thronged, chiefly by women, and flowers rained upon them. Most of the French had a small bouquet or a flower stuck in the muzzle of their rifles. From all sides the population thronged to see them pass. They were greeted as they moved onward by a running fire of cheers and clapping of hands.”

CHAPTER XXVII.

NAPOLEON'S DEPARTURE FOR ITALY—GREETINGS OF THE PEOPLE — RECEPTION AT MARSEILLES — GENOA — ENTHUSIASM OF THE PIEDMONTESE — LADIES OF GENOA AND THE EMPRESS — SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IN PARIS — THE MARSEILLAISE IN ITALY — THE LATE BATTLES — BEURET — CIALDINI — ESPINASSE — CONCLUSION.

NAPOLEON left Paris on the 10th of May. A little after five the Guards assembled in the court-yard of the Tuileries, which is separated from the Place du Carousel only by a railing.

In a few minutes, the officers of the household appeared at the foot of the vestibule, and signed to the Emperor's carriage to approach. Immediately afterwards the Emperor appeared, with the Empress leaning on his arm, and followed by several ladies and gentlemen of the Court. Scarcely had he appeared before shouts of "Vive l'Empereur," rent the air from the crowd without. After bowing, and waving his hat, the Emperor once more turned towards the group, which had followed the Empress and himself out of the palace, and bidding them adieu, shook hands with several of the ladies.

Then having handed the Empress into the carriage, he got in beside her, followed by General Reille. The Imperial cortege drove out of the palace, and passed under the triumphal arch.

The Emperor was in a simple travelling dress, with a close cap, which permitted his face to be seen. He was calm and smiling, but the red and swollen eyes of the Empress, revealed the tears she had shed. As they proceeded she frequently wiped away her tears, and almost constantly kept her hand within that of the Emperor.—The Guards followed the carriage, but did not surround it, so that the people could freely approach the Sovereign, and many, as the carriage went along, came up and spoke to him.

Along the Rue de Rivoli the crowd was intense, the windows of all the houses, even the very roofs, were filled with spectators, whilst from all went up shouts of “*Vive l'Empereur!*” “*Victoire,*”—good luck! *Dieu vous garde!* The streets were all hung with flags, and wreaths of flowers. At the Place de la Bastille, the *ouvriers*, in their enthusiasm, began to take the horses from the carriage, but the Emperor, with difficulty suppressing his emotion, got up in the carriage and addressed the multitude: “My friends,” said he, “do not delay me, time is precious.” The crowd desisted amidst deafening cries of “*Viva!*” The turbulent *ouvriers* of the Faubourg St. Antoine pressed forward towards the carriage, and the Emperor extending both hands, grasped all hands that were extended to him. One of the crowd addressing the Emperor, exclaimed: “You have victory in your eyes.”—Another, “If you want more soldiers, don’t forget us,” whilst a woman, noticing the tears streaming down the Empress’ cheeks, exclaimed: “Don’t cry, he will soon be back.” A sturdy looking man, too, leaning his head into

the carriage, said to the Empress: "Don't cry, don't cry, we will take care of you and le gamin, (the boy)." At the station of the Lyons railway, were already awaiting their Majesties, Marshal Magnan, Commander-in-Chief of the army, in Paris; M. de Lavestine, Commander of the National Guards; Marshal Vaillant; Generals Roguet, Montebello, Fleury, Cotte, de Failly, the Prince de la Moskowa, and all the Emperor's Staff, including Messrs. Larrey and Conneau, (surgeons,) the latter accompanied by his only son, a boy twelve years old.

The Cabinet Ministers were also in attendance.

Prince Jerome was most cordially greeted by his nephew. Prince Napoleon was there with the Princess Clotilde, who looked pale but calm, and probably envied her husband and cousin, who were about to start for her native country. Here also were in waiting, the Princess Mathilde, Prince and Princess Murat, and the Duchess of Hamilton, cousin of the Emperor, a Princess of Baden.

It was a touching scene, the waiting room crowded with mothers, wives, sisters, and friends, tears and sobs making their way spite of the Imperial example, spite of court etiquette. The Emperor's first salutation was for his uncle Jerome, with whom he conversed confidentially for several minutes.

At length the moment of departure arrived, the Emperor once again embraced the Empress, bid adieu to his uncle, and entered the car amidst the deafening shouts of enthusiasm. All was ready. M. Pattenotte, the Chief Director of the train, went up to the step of the Imperial car, and asked if he might give the signal to depart.—

The Emperor answered in the affirmative. "Now sire," said M. Pattenotte, "I take my leave with prayers for Your Majesty's safety, and with the ardent wish that I may soon be called on to give the signal to stop, to the car that brings your Majesty back triumphant to the Capital." And so amidst the shouts of the multitude, which echoed far along the road, the car bearing the fortunes of France left the Capital.

At half-past eleven at night, the Emperor arrived at Marseilles, having been greeted throughout the day, at every station, with the greatest enthusiasm by crowds awaiting his coming. At Marseilles he embarked on board the yacht "*La Reine Hortense*" which was awaiting him, and escorted by the "*Vauban*," a frigate of war, sailed for Genoa.

The Emperor had been greeted at Marseilles in the most loyal and affectionate manner, the ships as he passed out of port saluted him with their guns, whilst the rigging of every vessel was manned with sailors.

The Emperor arrived at Genoa on the 12th of May at two o'clock. It was a general holiday; every lady was dressed in her best, and the houses were decorated magnificently; flags waved from all the windows, and across from one house to another were strings with banners so close together that you could not see the sky in some streets. All the windows were hung with rich draperies, and in some cases with fine pieces of tapestry; and down the *Via Carlo Felice* were posts decorated with olive-branches and wreaths of gold-oak, to be lighted up at night. Eleven being the time the Emperor was expected, all eyes were upon the

horizon, and every speck that appeared was eagerly scrutinized. About one o'clock three little dots appeared: simultaneously hundreds of opera-glasses were directed to them. A report from the gun at the Light-house Battery was the signal that the yacht was in sight, and hundred of voices shouted out "L'Empereur!" The three little dots quickly assumed the shape of two war-frigates and a yacht, and in half an hour they entered the harbor. Boat-loads are rowing out to meet the yacht; every craft in the place was dressed out in all its colors, from the huge man-of-war, with its grinning rows of guns, down to the busy, little picturesque felucca-built fishing-boat. The small boats formed themselves into two compact rows, showing the route the Emperor would take; and hundreds of faces were turned to the entrance of the port, all anxious to get a look at the man who, with their beloved King, was to save Italy. Another report from the gun informed the people that the Imperial yacht had entered the harbor; and, from that time until his Majesty landed at the arsenal stairs, peal after peal of cannon shook the air and echoed among the hills. The day had been dull; but as the yacht entered the port the sun burst out gloriously — a circumstance which many people have considered an omen of success. The Emperor entered a state barge, and from that moment the applause was tremendous. The Genoese don't shout so much as they clap their hands, which, to one unaccustomed to that way of demonstrating the feelings in the street, is very strange. His Majesty's barge was rowed slowly through the densely crowded harbor, amidst vehement cries and applause. Almost every

lady had flowers; some bouquets splendidly made of red, white and blue flowers with which the path of the barge was covered from its leaving the yacht until it reached the arsenal. At some parts of the route the oars must have dipped a foot deep in flowers; indeed there was little water to be seen, what with boats, flowers and flags.

The Emperor was in a military uniform and expressed by signs how grateful he was and how deeply he felt their kind reception.

The Emperor landed at the arsenal and proceeded to the Palace amid the most enthusiastic cheers and applause. Showers upon showers of bouquets and flowers were thrown in his path, and hundreds of flags—tricolor French, and tricolor Italian—decorated the streets. Every window was one mass of animated faces; everywhere that a man or boy could climb was occupied. One statue in a church portico, opposite the Palazzo Reale, had no less than five boys resting on its arms, head, and flying drapery. The balconies were bending nearly to breaking with their overwhelming burdens, and the streets were full from wall to wall, in the route of the Imperial cortége.

The distance between the Arsenal and the Palazzo Reale is very short, so that thousands who had flocked from all parts of the town, and even from distances in the country, to see the Emperor, were disappointed, at least for the present. The streets for hours after his Majesty had been safely housed, were filled by a dense throng, eager to catch a glimpse of the great stranger, and kept up an incessant roar of “Viva la France!” and clapping of hands for hours together. At last his Majesty put his head out of

the top window. From a motionless but extremely noisy crowd they were changed instantaneously to a mad multitude, most of whom appeared to have but two objects in view—one to break a blood-vessel, the other to throw away their hats. His Majesty bowed several times and withdrew, then there was a calm; and that crowd dispersed only to make way for another as noisy and outrageous as the first. The Emperor appeared again, five or six times, to the great satisfaction of the crowds.

When the Emperor quitted the steamer he was received by the Prince de Carignan, M. de Cavour, M. de Brem, and the Count Nigra. After the Emperor, followed Prince Napoleon, Marshal Vaillant, and the Emperor's Aids-de camp. Then commenced a scene impossible to describe. The Imperial barge traversed the port in its entire length amid a street of boats, from which a shower of flowers was cast into the Emperor's pinnacle. The Emperor on landing was received by the religious, military, and judicial authorities of Genoa, and proceeded to the Palais Royal. There he appeared on the balcony facing the street, and his presence called forth immense cheering. At night there was a general illumination, not a window in the town being without a candle. The terraces, rising one above the other, formed stages of fire, which, agitated by the sea breeze, produced an effect similar to that of a town burning. The appearance of the port was even still more surprising. All the ships and quays formed an immense girandole, casting a red light on the sea. Nobody could form an idea of the effect without seeing it. When the Emperor presented himself at the theatre a still more

wonderful ovation awaited him. For more than five minutes he was forced to remain standing while three thousand of the most select society of Genoa cheered and waved handkerchiefs. The Emperor, visibly affected, accepted these demonstrations with his usual quiet dignity."

During his stay at Genoa the Emperor occupied in the Doria Palace the same apartments used by Napoleon when First Consul; and which the great Napoleon, with the historical superstition which distinguished him, chose, because they had been inhabited by the Emperor Charles V.

The Emperor has taken with him to Italy a tent which is a model of neatness and ingenuity. It is composed of two masts, which support a covering of blue and white drilling. It is eighteen feet high. On the summit are two small flags, one of France and the other of the national colors of Italy. In the interior it is divided into three compartments, a reception room, a bed chamber and a dressing room. The divisions are all formed by curtains, but contain apertures for light and ventilation. The whole structure can be put up and taken down in three minutes. The furniture consists of the iron tent bed used by Napoleon during all his campaigns. Louis Napoleon has also many toilet articles once belonging to his uncle. The furniture of the Imperial tent is of the simplest kind. The whole paraphernalia can be easily carried by two men.

The day that the Emperor entered Genoa amid showers of flowers, the Marquise de Villamarina, (the wife of the Sardinian Minister at Paris,) presented the Empress Eugenie with an enormous bouquet, which had arrived in a perfect state of preservation from Genoa. It was

accompanied by an address signed by the first ladies of the city.

“The ladies of Genoa entreat your Majesty, who so nobly partakes in the magnanimous feelings of the Emperor, to accept these flowers, which they would have strewed on your path had you accompanied your august husband on his entrance into Genoa. May these flowers be the symbols of the immortal wreaths of victory which history will twine round the brow of Napoleon III., and bequeath to his son as the most precious ornaments of the Imperial Diadem.”

(Dated) Genoa, the happy day on which Napoleon III. trod the soil of Italy.

During his absence, Napoleon left the Empress Eugenie Regent of the Kingdom.

“Napoleon,

“By the grace of God and the national will, Emperor of the French,

“To all present and to come, greeting :

“Wishing to give to our well-beloved wife, the Empress, marks of the great confidence we repose in her,

“And seeing that we intend to take the head of the Army of Italy, we have resolved to confer, as we do confer by these presents, on our well-beloved wife, the Empress, the title of Regent, that she may exercise its functions during our absence, in conformity with our instructions and orders, such as we shall have made known in the general order of the service that we shall have established, and which will be copied into the book of State.

“It is our desire that our uncle Prince Jerome, the Presi-

dents of the great bodies of the State, the members of the Privy Council, and our Ministers, be made acquainted with our orders and instructions, and that in no case shall the Empress be free to depart from their tenor in exercising the functions of the Regent.

“ We desire that the Empress shall preside in our name over the Privy Council and the Council of Ministers. Nevertheless, it is not our intention that the Empress Regent shall be able to authorize, by her signature, the promulgation of any *senatus consultum*, nor of any State law, save those which are now pending before the Senate, the Legislative Corps, and the Council of State, and we refer in this respect to the contents of those orders and instructions that are mentioned above.

“ We command our Minister of State to communicate the present letters patent to the Senate, who will cause them to be copied into the register, and to our Keeper of the Seals, the Minister of Justice, who will cause them to be published in the Bulletin Des Lois.

“ Given at the Palace of the Tuilleries, May 3, 1859.

“ NAPOLEON.

“ By the Emperor's command, the Minister of State,

“ ACHILLE FOULD.”

Another decree confers on Prince Jerome the right of presiding, in the absence of the Empress Regent, at the Privy Council, and the Council of Ministers.

Since the departure of the Emperor, the decrees and all State papers have been submitted by the Ministers to

the Empress, who appends to them her signature, in these terms :

“For the Emperor,
And in virtue of the power by him conferred,
EUGENIE.”

The Acts of the Government are all headed—

“*Eugenie, Empress of the French, Regent of the Empire, by delegation from His Imperial Majesty, Napoleon III.*”

Paris, since the departure of the Emperor, has been very tranquil. There are more foreigners than usual, owing, perhaps, to the state of Italy, which prevents the possibility of amateur traveling being agreeable in that country. The Empress, whenever she shows herself in public, is greeted with the warmest testimonies of affection.

As usual in Paris, the lower orders, who have an intense sympathy with war, and “*la gloire Francaise*,” take the most animated interest in the campaign, by discussion and expression of opinions. Groups of workmen may be seen on the Boulevards, every evening, in the direction of the Bastille, in which, the last telegraphic despatch in hand, some favorite orator explains the strategic plans of the Generals with a piece of chalk, and marks out on the pavement the positions of the contending armies. At the Invalides, the old disabled soldiers, few in number, who remember the first campaigns of the first Emperor, have become once again heroes, and are listened to deferentially by groups, who, cap in hand, look on them as sacred relics of *l'Empereur*.

The students perambulate the streets at night, fraterniz-

ing with the ouvriers, and singing the patriotic airs of France.

The favorite of these chaunts is the celebrated "*Mourir pour la Patrie*," which Dumas has claimed as his own, and introduced into the "*Chevalier de Maison rouge*," and which became almost a rallying-cry at the Revolution of 1848. The words, however, were written by Marshal Brune, when General of Brigade,—the original copy, in the Marshal's hand, written in pencil, with innumerable corrections, having been sent by his surviving relations to the war office.

There is also a favorite air by Auguste Barbier, greatly in favor, called "*La Piemontaise*."

In Italy, the Italians welcome the French soldiers with the "*Marseillaise*;" but it is so embellished, in its rough warrior spirit so utterly misunderstood, and converted into *gentilezza*, that the French soldiers have great trouble in recognizing it.

The Emperor's band, however, always salute him with "*Partant pour la Syrie*," which, though it has nothing martial in it, is national at the present moment, not only by Imperial decree, as having been composed by his mother, but because it is associated with the first campaigns of the Empire, when it was as popular a ballad as "*Home, sweet Home*," among all the officers and soldiers.

The Austrians began the campaign by crossing the Ticino, and penetrating to the line of the Sesia, with at least 130,000 men. Little or no fighting took place between them and the Sardinians. The latter drew a line of defence along the Dora-Baltia, and awaited the arrival

of the French. As soon as the French had arrived in sufficient numbers to justify an advance, they gradually threw forward their columns. The arrival of the Emperor at Alessandria, on the 15th of May, was the signal for increased activity.

The first engagement of any importance was that of Montebello. It occurred between General Forey's Division, belonging to Baraguay D'Hilliers' Corps d'Armée, and part of Count Stadion's Corps d'Armée. The location of the battle was Montebello. Both parties claimed the victory; but subsequent events show clearly that the advantage was with the French.

General Beuret, a young and active *Chef de Brigade*, fell here. He evinced great coolness and gallantry whilst living. He had graduated in that school of trial through which all the distinguished French officers have passed, the Algerian army. He was in the prime of life, and was an officer of talent. The Empress has written an autograph letter of condolence to his widow.

The battle of Montebello was fought on the 20th of May. The French acknowledge a loss of 700; the Austrians place theirs at 1300 killed and wounded.

The battle of Palestro, the next important preliminary engagement, was fought on the 30th of May. This time the victory was decidedly with the Franco-Sardinian army. Eight pieces of cannon and 4,000 prisoners rewarded the Allied army for their sanguinary efforts. This battle was a series of obstinate combats. Twice the Austrians returned to the assault, but the Zouaves and the Sardinians,

under Cialdini, encouraged by the hot valor of Victor Emanuel, fiercely hurled them back.

Cialdini, who, next to Victor Emanuel, is the hero of this fight, is a Sardinian General of Division. He is a perfect paladin. He has sought war apparently for the pleasurable excitement it imparts. Modena is his native country. During the long war between the Conservatives and the Liberals of Spain, he fought on the side of the latter. He began life a Lieutenant, and attained the rank of Colonel and the order of "Isabella the Catholic" from the hands of the Spanish Queen herself.

In 1848 he served with distinction under Charles Albert, and was raised to the command of a brigade by him. Victor Emanuel conferred upon him the rank of General of Division for his gallantry at the passage of the Tchernaya, in 1855. His recent display, not only of courage but of high fitness for command, will raise him to a still greater rank.

Garibaldi, with that brilliant rapidity which marks his operations in the field, had in the meantime crossed the frontiers of Lombardy, and skirting round the Southern end of Lago Maggiore, took Varese, roused the population of the Valteline, entered Como and Lecco, beat back D'Urban, and turned the Austrian right wing completely back upon the Austrian centre. He suffered a momentary check, but his gallant volunteers, unsupported, again beat the enemy, and at last accounts were advancing upon Monza, a large town ten miles north of Milan. His army, it is supposed, has been swollen from the 4,000 of *Chasseurs des Alps*, of which it was originally composed, to fully 10,000 men.

The last great battle at Magenta is the bloodiest of them all. The Austrians, having the advantage of superior numbers, were again defeated with great loss. They have retreated South-Eastward upon Cremona, having evacuated Milan, according to the orders of General Gyulai.

The Imperial Guard, with the Emperor in its centre, seems to have borne the first shock of the enemy, far superior to them in numbers. General McMahon came up at an opportune moment to their relief, broke through the Austrian centre, whilst Canrobert turned their flanks, and routed them. But the Austrians, with their characteristic obstinacy, sought again and again "to wring victory from the brow of defeat." Again and again were they unsuccessful.

The following is a description of the locality where the battle was fought:

"Magenta, which will henceforth become illustrious in story, is a small town of about 6,000 inhabitants, situated near Naviglio-Grande. It is the first stage on the road to Milan from Novara by Buffalora. Three roads lead from Novara to the bank of the Ticino. The first and most direct passes by Cameri, and ends at the bridge of Buffalora; the second, more to the North, passes through Galliate, and descends to the river nearly opposite the village of Turbigo; and the third, still more to the North, passes through Cameri and Piccheton, and by a curve joins the Ticino at some distance from the Galliate road."

The French have paid dearly for their victory, in the

loss of men and officers. Both Austrians and French seem to have suffered severely among their officers of rank. The most distinguished among the French Generals who have been killed was General Espinasse.

Charles Marie Espinasse was born at Saissac, in April, 1815, and entered the Military School of St. Cyr in 1833. He made his first campaigns in Algiers, where, in 1845, he had command of the Zouaves. Whilst in command of the 42d Regiment of the line, in 1848, he was sent to Rome. In 1851 he took an active part in quelling the *emeutes* of Paris which followed the *coup d'état*, and in the following year became Aid-de-camp to the Emperor. He commanded in the Crimean war a brigade of the First Division of the French army, and was unfortunate in an exploring party in the Dobrutscha. To add to his misfortunes he was attacked by the cholera, which decimated the ranks of his soldiers. Obligated to return to France to establish his health, he remained there until the following spring, when he returned to the East and distinguished himself at Tchernaya and the Malakoff. In 1855 Espinasse was made General of Division, and received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor.

In the midst of the excitement caused by the attempt on the life of the Emperor, in January, 1858, he took the place of M. Billault as Minister of the Interior, then called, in addition, "The Ministry of Public Safety." General Espinasse, in a diplomatic circular, explained to the Foreign Powers the reasons for thus establishing a Military Government. In June of the same year Gen-

eral Espinasse resigned his office. M. Delangle was his successor.

The Emperor and King of Sardinia have entered Milan in triumph. Military operations are still actively continued. The town of Melegnano, rendered classic by the celebrated battle between the Swiss and Francis I., has again witnessed the shock of contending armies. Baraguay D'Hilliers seems to have enjoyed the opportunity of redeeming the fault he had committed at Montebello, of suffering himself to be surprised. He won a decided victory after a hard fight.

Italy for centuries has been deemed dead. Italy, whose great men, no longer claiming to be Italians, had scattered their genius and their valor all over the world—Italy, that Metternich, in contemptuous raillery, had called a mere “geographical designation,” and that Lamartine had stigmatized as the “sepulchre of the past,”—Italy has, at the sound of the war clarion, arisen into life and strength.

That Austria will be driven back to within her natural limits is probable. When this is effected, what next? Treaties and conquests, and voluntary submissions will again probably subdivide Italy, and leave her to be governed by a set of lenient, constitutional and progressive governments. All would seem to promise well. When the war is ended—when, followed by shouts of friendship and victory that shall echo to the very Alps, the foreign legions shall pass that boundary, leaving Italy free from all invaders, there will yet remain the bitterest enemies, the most difficult to conquer, within her bosom,—the Italians themselves. To drive forth one common oppres-

sor, the inhabitants of the Italian States have remembered only that they were Italians, children of that country which their own poet, Silvia Pellico, has characterized for all as "*il piu gentile terren non sei di quanti scaldi il sole? D'ogni bell'arte non sei madre, o Italia Polve d'eroi non è la polve tua?*"

"The fairest land warmed by the eternal sun, mother of all the divine arts, is Italy. The dust of her soil on which we tread, is the ashes of heroes."

But when all the glorious excitement of conquest shall be over, when the politics and interest of Italy shall assume a domestic aspect, will not the great struggle then begin? Will the Italian of Milan,—the Italian of Rome,—the Italian of Venice,—the Italian of Naples,—the Italian of Florence be content with one rule and one government? Where are the elements of union and sympathy? Not in character; for the people of each of these divisions are as distinct in habits, tastes and peculiarities, as different nations. Not in language; for each speaks a different one;—one that the other cannot understand. Nor is the difference of language limited by these great divisions: every little town has its dialect. Como, at a distance of twenty miles, does not speak Milanese; nor do the people of Bergamo or Brescia, speak the Venetian Patois, which is a language in itself, any more than they do the dialects of Lombardy.

Tuscan, it is true, is the written language, but the masses ignore it, for education has made little progress, even in classes far removed from the lower. It cannot be denied by those who know Italy, that not only each State but each little town has a petty hatred of its neighbor.

When can the Italians govern themselves? Have they, after long years of inaction, administrative qualities? Has Italy produced, among the champions of its freedom, one man of practical talent?

The chivalrous heroism of Garibaldi will not make a legislator; the high-flown Republic of Mazzini, is simply impossible. Romantic, high-sounding and eloquent are the proclamations of the various Provisional Governments of 1848, but that is all—words, not ideas—poetry, but not common sense—the language for a Utopian Republic, not for the government of a people full of the necessities, passions, vices and weaknesses of common life.

“*Italia fara da se*,”—“Italy will exist by her own power,” is another of those phrases which have been the watchwords leading to one great effort only, and that has been followed by supineness and discouragement.

Yet with all these faults—the faults engendered by long despotic rule, by a rule which left them in ignorance, which compelled them to idleness—the Italians are a great and noble people. Generous, simple-minded, endowed with brilliant imaginations, brave, gay and spirited—they give to history the example of a courageous and dignified resignation; concealing their undying love for freedom under silence and apparent indifference. In the hour of struggle, neither bravery nor sacrifice have been wanting. Will the calm, strong, enduring virtues of submission to law, industry and political harmony be added to all these, and establish Italy in its high place (so long vacant) amongst the grandest and most ancient of European nations? Time can alone reply.

APPENDIX.

BULLETINS OF THE BATTLES.

BATTLE OF MONTEBELLO.

General Forey's official report of the Battle of Montebello, as forwarded by Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers to the Emperor Napoleon, is as follows : —

Voghera, May 20th, 1859, Midnight.

‘Monsieur le Marechal, — I have the honor to send you a report of the engagement of my division this day.

“Having received information at half-past twelve (p.m.) that a strong Austrian column, with artillery, had occupied Casteggio, and had driven out from Montebello the advanced posts of the Piedmontese cavalry, I immediately pushed forward to the outposts on the Montebello road with two battalions of the 74th, destined to relieve two battalions of the 84th, encamped on that road, in front of Voghera, on the Madura level. Meantime the rest of my division was getting under arms; a battery of artillery (6th of the 8th Regiment) led the way.

“On reaching the bridge over the streamlet Fossagazzo, the extreme limit of our outposts, I ordered a section of artillery to be placed in battery, supported on the right and on the left by two battalions of the 84th, their sharpshooters lining the banks of the stream. Meantime the enemy had pushed on from Montebello to Ginestrello, and, being informed that he was advancing against me in two columns, the one by the high road, the other by the railway road, I ordered the left battalion of the 74th to

cover the road to Cascina-Nuova, and the other battalion to take up a position on the right side of the road behind the 84th.

“This movement had scarcely been effected when a brisk fusillade opened along the whole line between our riflemen and those of the enemy, who was advancing upon us supporting his riflemen by heads of columns debouching from Ginestrello. The artillery opened its guns upon them with success; the enemy replied. I then ordered my right to advance. The enemy withdrew before the impetuosity of our troops; but, perceiving that I only had one battalion on the left of the road, a strong column was ordered to attack it. Thanks to the vigor and firmness of that battalion, commanded by Colonel Cambriels, and to some happy charges of the Piedmontese cavalry admirably led by General Sonnaz, the Austrians were driven back. At this moment General Blanchard, followed by the 98th, and a battalion of the 91st (the two others had remained at Oriolo, where they had an encounter), joined me, and received the order to relieve the battalion of the 74th, charged to defend the railway road, and to establish himself firmly at Cascina-Nuova.

“Reassured on that side, I again advanced my right, and carried, not without a serious resistance, the position of Ginestrello. Judging then that by following with the main body of my infantry along the ridges and the high road, with my artillery protected by the Piedmontese cavalry, I should more easily get possession of Montebello, I arranged my attacking columns as follows, under the orders of General Beuret:—The 17th battalion of Chasseurs, supported by the 84th and 74th placed en echelon, attacked the South side of Montebello, where the enemy had entrenched himself. A hand-to-hand combat then ensued in the streets of the village, which we had to carry house by house. It was during this combat that General Beuret was mortally wounded at my side.

“After an obstinate resistance the Austrians were obliged to yield before the impetuosity of our troops, and, although strongly entrenched in the churchyard, they were driven out of that last position at the point of the bayonet, amid reiterated shouts of ‘Vive l’Empereur!’

“It was now half-past six o’clock; I thought it prudent not to follow up the day’s success any further, and I halted my troops behind the ground upon which the churchyard is situated, lining the ridge with four guns and a number of riflemen, who drove back the last Austrian

columns into Casteggio. Shortly afterwards I saw the Austrian columns evacuate Casteggio, leaving a rearguard there, and retired by the road of Casatisma.

"I do not know as yet the exact amount of our loss. It is considerable, especially in superior officers, who did not spare themselves. I calculate it approximatively at from 600 to 700 men killed or wounded. The loss of the enemy must have been considerable, to judge by the number of killed found, especially in the village of Montebello. We have taken about 200 prisoners, among whom is a Colonel and other officers. Some powder-wagons have also fallen into our hands.

"As regards myself, M. le Marechal, I am happy that my division has been the first engaged with the enemy. This glorious 'baptism,' which recalls one of the noblest names in the Empire, will, I trust, mark one of those stages mentioned in the order of the day of the Emperor.

"P. S. From information I have received from all quarters, the strength of the enemy could not be under from 15,000 to 18,000 men.

HOW GENERAL BEURET WAS KILLED.

A letter-writer says: "General Beuret, in attempting to rally his men, moved from the rear, which is the place assigned on such occasions to field officers, to the front, and was leading his men up the slope a second time when he was shot right between the eyes, and never moved afterward. The men fell back in disorder, upon which General Forey, with more gallantry than discretion, rushed to the front and took Beuret's place: one shot shivered his scabbard and struck his leg, and another tore off part of his thick epaulet. Had the Austrians then made a sally they could easily have destroyed or captured the whole of the assailants; but at that lucky moment a reinforcement came up, and after a stout contest the churchyard was cleared, and all in it who were not killed, wounded, or prisoners fell back on their main body."

COUNT GYULAI'S OFFICIAL REPORT.

The following is Count Gyulai's official report of the battle of Montebello, addressed to the Emperor:

“HEADQUARTERS, GARLASCO, May 23, 1859.

“YOUR MAJESTY: I hasten humbly to address to your Majesty a report of the first great combat which the troops of your Majesty have sustained in the present war. As has already been shown by the incomplete reports which serve as elements for this one, all the detachments of the brave army engaged in the fight gave brilliant proofs of courage and firmness.

“As I already announced, on the 19th of the present month, by telegraph, to your Majesty's First Adjutant-General, I ordered, on the 20th, a grand reconnoissance on the right bank of the Po, because the information I received from the outposts, established along the Sesia and the Po, led to the belief that the enemy, in strong force, projected a movement against Piacenza, by Voghera.

“With this object, three brigades of the 5th corps d'armee were advanced, on the night of the 19th, from Pavia toward the *tetu-du-pont* of Vaccarizza, where Boer's brigade, belonging to the 8th Corps, was already stationed.

“For this expedition I gave the command of the 5th Corps to Lieutenant-Field Marshal Urban, who had previously examined the ground between Stradella, Vaccarizza, and Voghera, and who was stationed with a brigade of the 9th Corps (Major-General Braum) and one of his own reserve divisions (Major-General Schaffgottsche) between the *tete-du-pont* of Vaccarizza and Broni.

“The expedition, commanded by Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Count Stadion, consisted, then, of Paumgarten's division (brigades Gaal, Bils, and Prince of Hesse) of the 5th Corps; Braum of the 9th; and two battalions of Boer's brigade of the 8th Corps, as also of the troops of the garrison of Piacenza (Hesse Regiment) instead of the detachment of Schaffgottsche's brigade, left behind.

“Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Stadion commenced his movement in advance on the morning of the 20th, starting from the *tete-du-pont*.

“Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Urban had advanced on the high road toward Casteggio, the 3d battalion of Chasseurs skirting the mountains. Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Paumgarten followed in the plain, with Bils's brigade marching on Casatima, and with Gaal's brigade on Robecco. His reserve (two and a half battalions strong) and the artillery train advanced toward Barbianello. The Prince of Hesse's brigade formed

the right wing, and marched on Branduzzoz, passing through Verrua. Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Stadion's orders were, that after this movement, which ought to be completed at 11 o'clock, the attack should take place at noon. Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Urban was to carry Casteggio and Montebello, so as to have a basis to threaten Voghera, and thus force the enemy to display his strength. Major-General Gaal was to follow Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Urban as a reserve. As soon as the enemy had hastily evacuated Montebello, Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Urban pushed on to Genestrello, where he found the enemy in superior force, and encountered a sanguinary defence, which, however, the brave Jagers of the 8th and 4th battalions of the regiments of Hesse and Dom Miguel bravely overcame, and, despite considerable loss, took possession of the heights and Place of Genestrello.

"The enemy, however, soon displayed a superior force, which was continually increased by arrivals by the railway, so that Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Urban's and Gaal's brigades which had come up to his assistance, were compelled, after great loss, but heroic fighting, to fall back on Montebello. Meantime, Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Stadion had up brought Bils's brigade and Hesse's brigade closer to the right wing of the line of battle. The enemy now displayed an overwhelming force against Major-General Gaal and General Braum, with one battalion of Hesse and one battalion of Rossbach. After an obstinate fight, Montebello was evacuated. The enemy, who had suffered considerably, was kept in check by the good appearance of our troops, and by the position taken by Brigadier Bils's reserve, and made no pursuit. The corps, scarcely molested in Casteggio, reached the *tete-du-pont* at night-fall, and on the 21st halted on the other bank of the Po.

"According to the reports, which are not yet complete, the following troops were engaged at Genestrello, under Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Urban: The 3d battallion of Jagers, the 3d battallion of Dom Miguel, two battalions of Rossbach, one Grenadier battalion of Hesse, two 6-pounders, four 12-pounders of the 8th Regiment, and a division of Haller's Hussars. It was here the fight was most sanguinary and the greatest loss incurred, the enemy being three times our strength. At Montebello the troops engaged were: Two and a half companies of Rossbach, one battalion Grenadiers; 2d battalion of Hesse's Infantry; two battalions Arch Duke Charles' Infantry; one battalion Granger; one

squadron Haller's Hussars; four 6-pounders, and two 12-pounders. The troops engaged at Genestrello, when they retreated, came upon a superior force of the enemy, and had to sustain a second encounter.

“The Prince of Hesse, who commanded the Regiment Culoz (Transylvanians), a battalion of Zobel (recruits of Arad, in Hungary), and three squadrons of Sicily Lancers, engaged the enemy at Calcababbio (a little to the west of Casatisma) and Casove de Lansì. Several times during the action our infantry attacked the enemy's cavalry with the bayonet, and threw them into disorder. It also repeatedly happened that the troops, when advancing to the attack, reserved their fire until they were within thirty paces of the enemy. The Hussars and Lancers made the most dexterous use of their different weapons. As our artillery advanced quite close to the enemy its effect was terrible (*furchterlich*). Very few of our men were wounded by the cannon of the enemy, who fired over their heads. The enemy's infantry fired well. The report relative to his cavalry is less favorable. It was not equal to our Hussars and Lancers, and avoided every serious attack.

“As the thunder of the cannon had brought Lieutenant-General Crenneville from Broni, where he was with a part of the Brigade Fehlmayer, toward Casteggio, Lieutenant-General Stadion posted him at Santa Giulietta, in order that he might, if necessary, support the Brigade Bils, which had to cover the retreat. As there was no pursuit, General Crenneville returned in the evening to Stradella. During the advance and retreat, General Price Von Hesse effectually protected the right flank of the corps.

“It appears that we were opposed to the whole corps d'armee of Baraguay d'Hilliers and a Piedmontese brigade. According to the reports received, the French had twelve regiments of the line, some battalions of Chasseurs, and one regiment of cavalry in action: and the Sardinians one brigade and the cavalry regiment ‘Novara.’ The reserves, which were very powerful, were continually re-enforced. Field-Marshal-Lieutenant Stadion estimates the force of the enemy at 40,000 men at least. The sacrifice of life was great, but the information acquired by the reconnaissance is extremely satisfactory. I am still in expectation of the detailed reports. Count Stadion speaks highly of the bravery of all the troops engaged. When the detailed reports are sent in, I will make known to your Majesty the names of the persons who particularly distinguished themselves.

“Unfortunately, the sacrifice of life during this glorious battle was very great. 600 wounded men, 20 of whom are officers, have been brought to Pavia. Major Buttner, of the General Staff, who was on a special mission at Vaccarizza, and took part in the expedition, and Major Cantes, of the 3d Jager Battalion, were killed. Lieutenant-Colonel Spielberger, and Major Piers, of the ‘Archduke Charles,’ are probably dead, as they fell wounded on the field of battle.

“I am proud to be able to say, that the troops have, by their spirit and courage, proved that they are worthy of your Majesty’s favor, and any expression of satisfaction on the part of their illustrious Emperor and Commander will be an incentive to glorious deeds.”

[To the foregoing is annexed a list of the killed, wounded, and missing, but it will suffice to say, that 294 men, and 20 horses were killed, 718 men and 10 horses wounded, and 283 men missing. By an official telegram of the 25th instant, from Pavia, we learn that 650 wounded private soldiers, and 27 officers, are in the hospitals there. Twenty-four of their officers, and 367 of their men, are dangerously wounded.]

GARIBALDI’S DESCENT ON LOMBARDY.

On the 25th of May, Garibaldi, who with his Chasseurs of the Alps and some other troops, in all perhaps 5000 men, had passed round the extreme right of the Austrians, crossed the Ticino and marched upon Varese, between Lake Maggiore and the Lake of Como, and took possession of that town. On the 26th he defeated an Austrian detachment which attacked him, followed up his victory with great vigor, and again, on the 27th, defeated the same detachment (re-enforced by the garrison of Como), and entered that town the same night. The flying corps of General Urban marched against him, and actually drove him into the mountains; but later dispatches, reported that he had come back and surprised the Austrians and retaken Varese. His success produced an insurrection in the towns on the Lake of Como and in the Valtelline or Upper Valley of the Adda, a mountain district, which in 1848 showed more insurrectionary energy than the towns of the Lombard plain. The steamers on the Lake of Como are in the hands of the insurgents, and 800 men from the Valtelline had joined Garibaldi.

The correspondence of the *London Daily News*, adds these details:—

“Arona, May 30th. Anxious to gain exact information concerning General Garibaldi’s wonderful exploits, I left Alessandria for this place, where I arrived this morning. On my reaching Arona I found that the Provisional Extraordinary Commissary had been arrested by order of Signor Tecchio, who was so kind to me at Vercelli. It seems that the above-mentioned magistrate, being anything but courageous, had bolted at the first news of Austrian invasion. The only excuse he made on his return was that courage was a gift which had not been granted to him. Signor Tecchio did not find the excuse good enough, and sent him to prison where he is kept in strict confinement.

“One of the Secretaries of Count Cavour, Signor La Farina, a Sicilian of great talent, has been sent here to act as Extraordinary Commissary, not only for Arona, but with full powers for the whole of this important Province. This gentleman, who in former times was one of the most sanguine adherents of Mazzini, is a man of rare energy, and he has set to work with the determination of carrying on the revolution in the whole of the occupied Lombardo-Provinces. The alarm bells ring still in all the communes of the Varesotto, Tramezzo, Como and Lecco districts. The volunteers are pouring in from every village and hamlet into Garibaldi’s camp, which has also been strengthened by a Piedmontese brigade and two batteries of field artillery. You see that the insurrection is gaining ground in Upper Lombardy. At the first appearance of our braves, all the civil authorities of Como and Lecco have recognized the Government of King Victor Emanuel, which in those towns is now represented by Count Visconti Venosta, a young nobleman from Valtellina, of great determination. His spirited proclamations have roused the enthusiasm of country folks and citizens, who have hastened to the scene of action with an ardor never witnessed in 1848. Money, so much wanted in these times, is pouring into Garibaldi’s military treasury, together with gold necklaces and other valuable trinkets from fair Lombard ladies. The sum thus collected in two days has reached 2,000,000f.

“The telegraph wires will, no doubt, have informed you that Como was occupied on Saturday last, after a hard fight of two hours at San Fermo and Camerlata. This last-mentioned position is to be considered as the key of the picturesque barrier of Como, for its elevated ground enables a small body of men to oppose a long resistance even to an army of

15,000 strong. The positions were carried at the point of the bayonet, for our *Cacciatori delle Alpi* could not fire their muskets, so much inferior in range to those of the enemy. It was a hard and bloody fight, which may, without exaggeration, be compared to the struggles of old, when Roman and Cathaginian legions met together.

“Every one here asks how Garibaldi could have been ordered or allowed to venture on so daring a movement by himself. The truth is that he was instructed to move in the direction of Varese by slow marches, keeping himself in constant communication with Cialdini’s division, to which he belongs. By the necessity of strategical combination, General Cialdini was obliged to march to and fro from Vercelli and Stroppiana, guarding the right bank of the Upper Sesia, as far as Gattinara. The necessary result of this constant marching and countermarching was that of retarding the projects of Garibaldi. He moved slowly for two days, but he could not stand it any longer, and hastening from Romagnana to the headquarters of the King, he begged him to observe that he did not nor could not understand the scientific principles of a regular war, and that he wished to be left to his daring inspiration. Victor Emanuel saw directly that it was no use to keep such a bird in the cage of strategic rules, and, letting him loose, said: ‘Go where you like, do what you like. I have only one regret—that of not being able to follow you.’ In five hours he was at the head of his daring soldiers. You know the rest. It is true that Garibaldi’s *Cacciatori delle Alpi* bought dearly their three-fold victory over the Austrians. Captain Decristoforis is dead. He was one of the noblest patriots Italy had among her sons. Two years ago he settled in England and kept a first-rate military school at Putney. More than one of our English officers had been prepared by him for Woolwich examinations, and I have no doubt they will feel deeply the loss of their worthy master. Captain Bedott and Lieutenants Ferrini, Cartigliari and Battaglia, also fell during the action of San Ferino. Captain Frigerio was badly wounded, together with sixty of his men. On the whole, the loss sustained by Garibaldi is about 125 killed and wounded—a very small one if we consider the success obtained by him. The deeds he has achieved in so short a time have gained him the admiration not only of the Piedmontese, but, what is almost incredible, even that of the French army. Before leaving Turin I was told that the Emperor himself sent one of his orderly officers to Garibaldi’s head-

quarters, to congratulate him on the wonderful success of his small band of heroes. This Imperial message deserves more praise when we consider that Garibaldi's first proclamation did not say a word about the French army."

The legion with which Garibaldi drove the Austrians from Northern Lombardy is chiefly composed of his old comrades in arms, recruited by young men of high character. He knows the value of good men, and will not accept any recruit who cannot bring excellent references. A very large number of Italian noblemen are serving under his orders.

This legion is called *Chasseurs des Alpes*. They consist of two fine regiments, of 2,000 men each, and a squadron of *Guides*, who serve as a staff and make reconnoissances. The latter are almost universally mounted at their own expense. The Chasseurs wear a green tunic with white trimming over the shoulders. The corps of Guides wear a gray jacket with black trimming, in the hussar fashion, large trowsers of the same color, a sabre, and a Colt's revolver. They are always ahead on their good chargers, and are much feared by Austrian sharp-shooters and Croat marauders.

THE BATTLE OF PALESTRO.

The Sardinian Government has issued the following official bulletins:

"TURIN, May 31.

"A fresh victory was gained by our troops at 7 o'clock this morning. 25,000 Austrians endeavored to retake Palestro. The King, commanding the 4th Division in person, and General Cialdini, at the head of the 3d Regiment of Zouaves, resisted the attack for a considerable time, and then, after having successfully assumed the offensive, pursued the enemy, taking 1000 prisoners, and capturing eight cannon, five of which were taken by the Zouaves. Four hundred Austrians were drowned, in a canal, during the combat at Palestro."

The *Turin Gazette*, June 1, contains the following proclamation to the troops:

"From the Principal Headquarters at Torrigione, 30th of May, 1859.

"Soldiers! Our first battle has marked our first victory. Your heroic courage, the admirable order of your ranks, the daring and sagacity of the leaders, have triumphed to-day at Palestro, at Vinzarrio, at Casalino.

“After an obstinate defence, the enemy, repeatedly attacked, abandoned to you his strong positions. The campaign could not open under happier auspices.

“To-day’s triumph is to us a sure pledge that you have in reserve other victories for the glory of your King and for the fame of the valiant Piedmontese army.

“Soldiers! Your country, exulting, expresses to you its gratitude by my voice, and, proud of our battles, already points out to history the names of its heroic sons, who, for the second time, on the 30th day of May, have valiantly fought for it.

“VICTOR EMANUEL.”

ADDITIONAL DETAILS.

On May 30th, King Victor Emanuel, at the head of the Fourth Division of the allied army, crossed the Sesia, near Vercelli, in the face of the enemy. Vercelli, Novara, and Mortara, form an equilateral triangle, each side being about fifteen miles in length; and it should be observed that two of the great roads from Milan, passing through Novara and Mortara, which are about ten miles west of the banks of the Ticino, unite at Vercelli. The Austrians have, from the beginning, kept a large force—not less than 50,000 men—at Novara and Mortara, because it is pretty clear that, if they are compelled to abandon these towns, they must cross the Ticino. It was natural, therefore, that they should watch, with the utmost jealousy, any attempt of the Sardinians to approach either of these places, and, accordingly they sent out frequent and powerful reconnoissances from Novara and Mortara towards the Sesia, in order to ascertain the movements of their enemy. Not satisfied with this, the Austrians seem to have fortified the villages of Palestro, Casalino, and Vinzaglio, situated within the angle formed by the road between Vercelli and Novara, and that between Vercelli and Mortara, for when the King crossed with Cialdini’s Division, he found the enemy entrenched, and only carried their position, after an obstinate struggle, at the point of the bayonet. Although the whole extent of the losses on either side is yet unknown, still the Sardinians took two guns and some prisoners. That night the King slept at Torriene, amongst his troops, as they lay encamped on the left bank of the Sesia. Vercelli

was illuminated, to celebrate the victory, and the French Emperor, having transferred his headquarters from Alessandria to Casale—not an hour's journey by railway from Vercelli—walked through the streets of the rejoicing city.

But the battle was not yet over. The Austrian officers determined to renew the combat. On Tuesday morning, therefore, the King, before he had time very materially to strengthen his position, was attacked by an Austrian corps d'armee of 25,000 men. The King himself, at the head of the Fourth Division, aided by the Third Regiment of Zouaves, for a time maintained a defensive attitude, but presently assuming the offensive, rushed upon the enemy, defeated them, with the loss of eight guns and 1000 prisoners. Amongst the troops who fought, the Zouaves, according to the account in the *Moniteur*, did great things. In the face of a battery of eight guns, they crossed a canal, climbed a steep height, drove 400 Austrians, at the point of the bayonet, into the canal, and carried away six guns. But, as at Montebello so at Palestro, the Sardinians bore the brunt of the contest.

It was now Tuesday morning, but the Austrians, though repulsed, at once arranged another attack for the same evening. Nor is it difficult to understand the grounds of such a resolution. Unless the numbers of the Austrian troops which crossed the Ticino has been grossly exaggerated, it seems clear that those between Novara and Mortara ought far to outnumber a single division. The Austrians, therefore, might reasonably expect to annihilate the King, weakened as he was by two severe combats, before he could be reinforced. On the other hand, the position of the King was such, that if he felt himself strong enough (as he certainly would be after being reinforced) he might fall upon the Austrian troops at Novara before they could be joined by those at Mortara, and so open one of the great roads across the Ticino; or he might fall upon the troops at Mortara, break the Austrian line, open the other great road to the Ticino, and then advance against the Austrian right wing, isolated as it would thus be, and drive it back to the Ticino. Indeed, even if there were no apprehension of being attacked by overwhelming numbers on one point of the line, it is not only harassing, but even dangerous, to have a great body of troops within six or seven miles of the enemy, more especially if, in case of defeat, it would be necessary to withdraw across a broad river like the Ticino. The troops can never be at rest, and in

case of a reverse, the probability is that a great portion of the baggage must be lost or destroyed. Whatever may have been the reasons upon which the Austrians acted, certain it is, that on the same Tuesday evening, about six o'clock, they endeavored to dislodge the King from his position at Palestro. But again they were repulsed by Cialdini, the Zouaves, and the Sardinian cavalry. The King displayed, according to his wont, that chivalrous and almost reckless courage for which, through life, he has been so famous, and which has rendered him the idol of his people.

THE BATTLE OF MAGENTA.—THE FRENCH OFFICIAL REPORT.

From the *Paris Moniteur*, June 10th.

HEADQUARTERS OF SAN MARTINO, June 5th.

“The French army, assembled around Alessandria, had before it great obstacles to overcome. If it had marched on Piacenza, it would have had to lay siege to that place, and to open for itself, by main force, the passage of the Po, which at this spot is not less than 900 metres wide, and this most difficult operation was to be executed in the presence of an enemy's army of more than 200,000 men.

“If the Emperor crossed the river at Valentia, he would find the enemy concentrated on the left bank at Mortara, and he could not attack him in this position unless by separate columns manœuvring in the midst of a country intersected by canals and rice grounds. There was, therefore, on both sides an almost insurmountable obstacle; the Emperor resolved to turn it, and he deceived the Austrians by concentrating his army on the right, and causing it to occupy Casteggio, and even Bobbio on the Trebia.

“On the 31st of May, the army received the order to march to the left, and crossed the Po at Casale, the bridge of which had remained in our possession. It immediately took the Vercelli road, where the passage of the Sesia was effected to protect and cover our rapid march on Novara. The efforts of the army were directed to the right on Bobbio; and two combats, glorious for the Sardinian troops, fought on this side, had also the effect of inducing the enemy to believe that we were marching on Mortara. But during this time the French army had proceeded

towards Novara, and had taken up there a position on the same ground where the King Charles Albert had fought ten years before. There it could make head against the enemy should he make his appearance.

"Thus this bold march had been protected by 100,000 men encamped on our right flank at Olengo in front of Novara. Under these circumstances, it was therefore to the reserve that the Emperor was to confide the execution of the movement that took place in the rear of the line of battle.

"On the 2d of June a division of the Imperial Guard was directed to Turbigo on the Ticino, and meeting with no resistance there it threw across three bridges.

"The Emperor, having collected notices that agreed in showing him that the enemy was retiring on the left bank of the river, caused the Ticino to be passed at this spot by the army corps of General McMahon, followed next day by a division of the Sardinian army.

"Hardly had our troops taken possession on the Lombard bank when they were attacked by an Austrian corps sent from Milan by the railway. They repulsed it victoriously under the eyes of the Emperor.

"On the same day, June 2d, the division of Espinasse having advanced by the Novara road towards Milan as far as Trecate, whence it threatened the bridge-head of Buffalora, the enemy evacuated precipitously the entrenchments he had thrown up on this point, and fell back on the left bank, after blowing up the stone bridge crossing the river at this spot. Nevertheless the effect of his mining chambers was not complete, and the two arches he had intended to destroy having merely subsided without falling to pieces, the thoroughfare was not interrupted.

"The day of the 4th had been fixed upon by the Emperor for taking definitive possession of the left bank of the Ticino. The army corps of General McMahon, reinforced by the voltigeur division of the Imperial Guard, and followed by the whole army of the King of Sardinia, was to proceed from Turbigo to Buffalora and Magenta, whilst the Grenadier division of the Imperial Guard would seize the bridge-head of Buffalora on the left bank, and the army corps of Marshal Canrobert would advance on the right bank, to pass the Ticino at the same point. The execution of this plan of operations was disturbed by some of those incidents that in warfare must be taken into account. The King's army was retarded in its passage of the river, and only one of its divisions could follow, at a distance, the corps of General McMahon.

“The march of the Espinasse division also met with delays, and on the other hand when the corps of Marshal Canrobert left Novara to re-join the Emperor, who had personally gone to the bridge-head of Buffalora, this corps found the road so encumbered that it could only reach the Ticino quite late.

“Such was the situation of things, and the Emperor was waiting, not without anxiety, for the signal of the arrival of General McMahon’s corps at Buffalora, when, about two o’clock, he heard on this side very heavy firing of small arms and artillery.

“It was the moment to sustain it by marching on Magenta. The Emperor immediately despatched Wimpffen’s brigade against the formidable positions held by the Austrians in front of the bridge; the brigade of Cler followed the movement. The heights bordering the Naviglio (a large canal) and the village of Buffalora were promptly carried by the spirit of our troops; but they then found themselves confronting considerable masses, whom they could not drive back, and who arrested their progress.

“In the meantime, Marshal Canrobert’s army corps did not appear, and on the other hand the cannonade and musketry fire that had signaled the arrival of General McMahon had completely ceased. Had the General’s column been repulsed, and had the grenadier division of the Guard to sustain itself alone against the entire effort of the enemy?

“It is here the proper time for explaining the manœuvre effected by the Austrians. When they learned on the night of June 2d, that the French army had surprised the passage of the Ticino at Turbigo, they had rapidly sent across that river, at Vigevano, three of the army corps, which burnt the bridges behind them. On the morning of the 4th they went before the Emperor to the number of 125,000 men, and it was against these disproportionate forces that the Grenadier division of the guard, with whom was the Emperor, had singly to contend.

“In these critical circumstances, General Regnaud de Saint Jean d’Angely gave proof of the utmost energy, as also did the Generals commanding under his orders. The General of Division, Mellinet, had two horses killed under him. General Cler fell mortally wounded. General Wimpffen was wounded in the head. The Commanders Desme and Maudhay, of the Grenadiers, were killed. The Zouaves lost 200 men, and the Grenadiers sustained a loss no less considerable.

“At length, after a struggle of four hours, during which Mellinet’s division suffered without flinching the attacks of the enemy, Picard’s brigade, with Canrobert at its head, arrived on the field of battle. Shortly after appeared Vinocq’s division, from General Neil’s corps, which the Emperor had sent for, and finally Regnault’s and Trocha’s divisions of Marshal Canrobert’s corps.

“At the same time General McMahon’s cannon were again heard in the distance. The General’s corps, retarded in its march, and less numerous than it should have been, had advanced in two columns on Magenta and Buffalora.

“The enemy having attempted to advance between these two columns, for the purpose of cutting them off, General McMahon had rallied the right, with the left towards Magenta, and this explains why the firing had ceased at the beginning of the action on the side at Buffalora. In fact, the Austrians, seeing themselves pressed on their front and left, had evacuated the village of Buffalora, and advanced with the greater part of their forces against General McMahon, in front of Magenta. The forty fifth regiment of the line rushed intrepidly to attack the farm of Cascina Nuova, which is before the village, and which was defended by two Hungarian regiments. Fifteen hundred men of the enemy there laid down their arms, and the flag was taken from the dead body of the Colonel.

“In the meantime, Motterouge’s Division was pressed hard by considerable forces that threatened to separate it from Espinasse’s division. General McMahon had drawn up in the second line the thirteen battalions of the Voltiguers of the Guard, under the command of the brave General Camou, who, advancing to the first line, sustained at the centre the efforts of the enemy, and enabled the Divisions of La Motterouge and Espinasse to resume vigorously the offensive.

“At this moment of general attack, General Auger, commanding the artillery of the Second Corps, placed in battery, on the line of the railway, forty field-pieces, which, taking the Austrians, as they were defiling in great disorder, in flank and athwart, made a frightful carnage amongst them.

“The combat at Magenta was terrible. The enemy defended this village with obstinacy. On both sides it was felt that this was the key of the position. Our troops took it house by house, and put more than

10,000 Austrians *hors de combat*. General McMahon made about 5000 prisoners, among whom were an entire regiment, the Second Chasseurs a Pied, commanded by Colonel Hauser. But the General's corps itself suffered much ; 1500 of his men were killed or wounded. In the attack on the village, General Espinasse and Lieutenant Froidefond fell mortally wounded. Like them, Colonel Drouhot, of the 65th of the line, and Colonel Chabriore, of the Second Foreign Regiment, fell at the head of their troops.

“On the other side, the Divisions of Vinoy and Renault performed prodigies of valor, under the orders of Marshal Canrobert and General Niel. Vinoy's division, which left Novara in the morning, had only just arrived at Trecate, where it was to bivouac, when it was sent for by the Emperor. It advanced rapidly (*a pas de course*) as far as Pont di Magenta, driving the enemy from his positions, and taking more than 1000 prisoners ; but, becoming engaged with superior forces, it sustained severe loss ; eleven of its officers were killed, and fifty wounded ; 650 sub-officers and soldiers were put *hors de combat*. The 85th of the line especially suffered ; its commanding officer was killed fighting bravely at the head of his regiment, and the other superior officers were wounded. General Martinprey was struck by a ball as he was leading his brigade.

“The troops of Marshal Canrobert also sustained regretable loss. Colonel de Senneville, the chief of his staff, was killed at his side. Colonel Charlier, of the 90th, fell mortally wounded, struck by five balls, and several officers of Renault's division were placed *hors de combat*, while the village of Pont di Magenta was taken seven times in succession.

“Finally, about half-past eight in the evening, the French army remained master of the field of battle, and the enemy withdrew, leaving in our hands four guns, of which two were taken by the Grenadiers of the Guard, two flags, and seven thousand prisoners. The number of Austrians placed *hors de combat* may be estimated at about 20,000. On the field of battle 12,000 muskets, and 30,000 knapsacks, have been picked up.

“The Austrian corps engaged against us were those of Clam-Gallas, Zobel, Schwartzenberg and Leichtenstein. Field-Marshal Gyulai commanded in chief.

“Thus, in five days after leaving Alessandria, the Allied Army has

delivered three combats, won a battle, cleared Piedmont of the Austrians, and opened the gates of Milan. Since the battle of Montebello, the Austrians have lost 25,000 men, killed or wounded, 10,000 prisoners, and 17 guns."

AUSTRIAN ACCOUNT.

The following telegram has been received at Vienna from Count Von Grunne, First Adjutant-General of the Emperor of Austria:

"VIENNA, Monday, June 6, 10 40 P.M.

"The battle fought in the neighborhood of Magenta, on the 4th instant, was exceedingly fierce and bloody, and lasted until dusk. The attack of the enemy, which was made in the forenoon, at Turbigo and Buffalora, was at first directed against two brigades of the 1st army corps, under Lieutenant-General Count Clam. The brigades in question were subsequently reinforced by three brigades of the 2d (Prince E. Leichtenstein's), and Reischach's division of the 7th (Baron Zobel's) army corps. In the afternoon of the 3d, Prince E. Schwarzenberg's army corps came into action, and the bridges of the Buffalora and the village of Magenta were sometimes in the enemy's hands and sometimes in ours.

"In the morning of the 5th, our left wing was again engaged in the neighborhood of Magenta, but detailed reports on the subject are still wanting.

"The enemy made no further progress (*drang nicht weiter vor*), and our army took up a flank position (*Flanken-Stellung*) between Abbiate Grasso and Binasco. The issue of the battle which was going on being doubtful, Count Gyulai gave orders that Milan should be completely evacuated. The 5th, Count Stadion's, and the 8th, Baron von Benedek's army corps, were at a considerable distance from the field of battle, and were not engaged.

"Numerous French prisoners are in our hands. The loss on both sides is great, but exact official returns on the subject are still wanting. According to the preliminary reports, Lieutenant-General Baron Reischach, and Major-Generals von Burdina, von Duffeld, and von Lebzel-

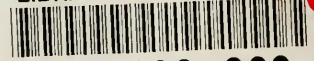
tern, are wounded; as are Colonel Hubatschek, Lieutenant-Colonel Stromfeld, and Major Merkl, of the regiment "Hartmann;" Lieutenant-Colonel Heffer and Major Walter, of the regiment "King of the Belgians; and Major Morans, of the regiment "Count Wimpffen." Major Kronfeld, of "King of Prussia" hussars, was killed; and Lieutenant-Colonel Imbaissenitsh, and Major Haas, of the Second Banat Border Regiment, are missing."

etc





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